













**Cornell University**  
Ithaca, New York

**CORNELL STUDIES**

JN

**CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY**

EDITED BY

CHARLES EDWIN BENNETT  
JOHN ROBERT SITLINGTON STERRETT  
AND  
GEORGE PRENTICE BRISTOL

No. XVII

**ERICHTHONIUS AND THE THREE DAUGHTERS  
OF CECROPS**

BENJAMIN POWELL, A.B., A.M.

PUBLISHED FOR THE UNIVERSITY  
BY  
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY  
1906

# ERICHTHONIUS •

AND

THE THREE DAUGHTERS OF CECROPS

PUBLISHED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

1906

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
61  
62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98  
99  
100  
101  
102  
103  
104  
105  
106  
107  
108  
109  
110  
111  
112  
113  
114  
115  
116  
117  
118  
119  
120  
121  
122  
123  
124  
125  
126  
127  
128  
129  
130  
131  
132  
133  
134  
135  
136  
137  
138  
139  
140  
141  
142  
143  
144  
145  
146  
147  
148  
149  
150  
151  
152  
153  
154  
155  
156  
157  
158  
159  
160  
161  
162  
163  
164  
165  
166  
167  
168  
169  
170  
171  
172  
173  
174  
175  
176  
177  
178  
179  
180  
181  
182  
183  
184  
185  
186  
187  
188  
189  
190  
191  
192  
193  
194  
195  
196  
197  
198  
199  
200  
201  
202  
203  
204  
205  
206  
207  
208  
209  
210  
211  
212  
213  
214  
215  
216  
217  
218  
219  
220  
221  
222  
223  
224  
225  
226  
227  
228  
229  
229  
230  
231  
232  
233  
234  
235  
236  
237  
238  
239  
239  
240  
241  
242  
243  
244  
245  
246  
247  
248  
249  
249  
250  
251  
252  
253  
254  
255  
256  
257  
258  
259  
259  
260  
261  
262  
263  
264  
265  
266  
267  
268  
269  
269  
270  
271  
272  
273  
274  
275  
276  
277  
278  
279  
279  
280  
281  
282  
283  
284  
285  
286  
287  
288  
289  
289  
290  
291  
292  
293  
294  
295  
296  
297  
298  
299  
299  
300  
301  
302  
303  
304  
305  
306  
307  
308  
309  
309  
310  
311  
312  
313  
314  
315  
316  
317  
318  
319  
319  
320  
321  
322  
323  
324  
325  
326  
327  
328  
329  
329  
330  
331  
332  
333  
334  
335  
336  
337  
338  
339  
339  
340  
341  
342  
343  
344  
345  
346  
347  
348  
349  
349  
350  
351  
352  
353  
354  
355  
356  
357  
358  
359  
359  
360  
361  
362  
363  
364  
365  
366  
367  
368  
369  
369  
370  
371  
372  
373  
374  
375  
376  
377  
378  
379  
379  
380  
381  
382  
383  
384  
385  
386  
387  
388  
389  
389  
390  
391  
392  
393  
394  
395  
396  
397  
398  
399  
399  
400  
401  
402  
403  
404  
405  
406  
407  
408  
409  
409  
410  
411  
412  
413  
414  
415  
416  
417  
418  
419  
419  
420  
421  
422  
423  
424  
425  
426  
427  
428  
429  
429  
430  
431  
432  
433  
434  
435  
436  
437  
438  
439  
439  
440  
441  
442  
443  
444  
445  
446  
447  
448  
449  
449  
450  
451  
452  
453  
454  
455  
456  
457  
458  
459  
459  
460  
461  
462  
463  
464  
465  
466  
467  
468  
469  
469  
470  
471  
472  
473  
474  
475  
476  
477  
478  
479  
479  
480  
481  
482  
483  
484  
485  
486  
487  
488  
489  
489  
490  
491  
492  
493  
494  
495  
496  
497  
498  
499  
499  
500  
501  
502  
503  
504  
505  
506  
507  
508  
509  
509  
510  
511  
512  
513  
514  
515  
516  
517  
518  
519  
519  
520  
521  
522  
523  
524  
525  
526  
527  
528  
529  
529  
530  
531  
532  
533  
534  
535  
536  
537  
538  
539  
539  
540  
541  
542  
543  
544  
545  
546  
547  
548  
549  
549  
550  
551  
552  
553  
554  
555  
556  
557  
558  
559  
559  
560  
561  
562  
563  
564  
565  
566  
567  
568  
569  
569  
570  
571  
572  
573  
574  
575  
576  
577  
578  
579  
579  
580  
581  
582  
583  
584  
585  
586  
587  
588  
589  
589  
590  
591  
592  
593  
594  
595  
596  
597  
598  
599  
599  
600  
601  
602  
603  
604  
605  
606  
607  
608  
609  
609  
610  
611  
612  
613  
614  
615  
616  
617  
618  
619  
619  
620  
621  
622  
623  
624  
625  
626  
627  
628  
629  
629  
630  
631  
632  
633  
634  
635  
636  
637  
638  
639  
639  
640  
641  
642  
643  
644  
645  
646  
647  
648  
649  
649  
650  
651  
652  
653  
654  
655  
656  
657  
658  
659  
659  
660  
661  
662  
663  
664  
665  
666  
667  
668  
669  
669  
670  
671  
672  
673  
674  
675  
676  
677  
678  
679  
679  
680  
681  
682  
683  
684  
685  
686  
687  
688  
689  
689  
690  
691  
692  
693  
694  
695  
696  
697  
698  
698  
699  
699  
700  
701  
702  
703  
704  
705  
706  
707  
708  
709  
709  
710  
711  
712  
713  
714  
715  
716  
717  
718  
719  
719  
720  
721  
722  
723  
724  
725  
726  
727  
728  
729  
729  
730  
731  
732  
733  
734  
735  
736  
737  
738  
739  
739  
740  
741  
742  
743  
744  
745  
746  
747  
748  
749  
749  
750  
751  
752  
753  
754  
755  
756  
757  
758  
759  
759  
760  
761  
762  
763  
764  
765  
766  
767  
768  
769  
769  
770  
771  
772  
773  
774  
775  
776  
777  
778  
779  
779  
780  
781  
782  
783  
784  
785  
786  
787  
788  
789  
789  
790  
791  
792  
793  
794  
795  
796  
797  
798  
798  
799  
799  
800  
801  
802  
803  
804  
805  
806  
807  
808  
809  
809  
810  
811  
812  
813  
814  
815  
816  
817  
818  
819  
819  
820  
821  
822  
823  
824  
825  
826  
827  
828  
829  
829  
830  
831  
832  
833  
834  
835  
836  
837  
838  
839  
839  
840  
841  
842  
843  
844  
845  
846  
847  
848  
849  
849  
850  
851  
852  
853  
854  
855  
856  
857  
858  
859  
859  
860  
861  
862  
863  
864  
865  
866  
867  
868  
869  
869  
870  
871  
872  
873  
874  
875  
876  
877  
878  
879  
879  
880  
881  
882  
883  
884  
885  
886  
887  
888  
889  
889  
890  
891  
892  
893  
894  
895  
896  
897  
898  
898  
899  
899  
900  
901  
902  
903  
904  
905  
906  
907  
908  
909  
909  
910  
911  
912  
913  
914  
915  
916  
917  
918  
919  
919  
920  
921  
922  
923  
924  
925  
926  
927  
928  
929  
929  
930  
931  
932  
933  
934  
935  
936  
937  
938  
939  
939  
940  
941  
942  
943  
944  
945  
946  
947  
948  
949  
949  
950  
951  
952  
953  
954  
955  
956  
957  
958  
959  
959  
960  
961  
962  
963  
964  
965  
966  
967  
968  
969  
969  
970  
971  
972  
973  
974  
975  
976  
977  
978  
979  
979  
980  
981  
982  
983  
984  
985  
986  
987  
988  
989  
989  
990  
991  
992  
993  
994  
995  
996  
997  
998  
999  
1000  
1001  
1002  
1003  
1004  
1005  
1006  
1007  
1008  
1009  
1009  
1010  
1011  
1012  
1013  
1014  
1015  
1016  
1017  
1018  
1019  
1019  
1020  
1021  
1022  
1023  
1024  
1025  
1026  
1027  
1028  
1029  
1029  
1030  
1031  
1032  
1033  
1034  
1035  
1036  
1037  
1038  
1039  
1039  
1040  
1041  
1042  
1043  
1044  
1045  
1046  
1047  
1048  
1049  
1049  
1050  
1051  
1052  
1053  
1054  
1055  
1056  
1057  
1058  
1059  
1059  
1060  
1061  
1062  
1063  
1064  
1065  
1066  
1067  
1068  
1069  
1069  
1070  
1071  
1072  
1073  
1074  
1075  
1076  
1077  
1078  
1079  
1079  
1080  
1081  
1082  
1083  
1084  
1085  
1086  
1087  
1088  
1089  
1089  
1090  
1091  
1092  
1093  
1094  
1095  
1096  
1097  
1098  
1098  
1099  
1099  
1100  
1101  
1102  
1103  
1104  
1105  
1106  
1107  
1108  
1109  
1109  
1110  
1111  
1112  
1113  
1114  
1115  
1116  
1117  
1118  
1119  
1119  
1120  
1121  
1122  
1123  
1124  
1125  
1126  
1127  
1128  
1129  
1129  
1130  
1131  
1132  
1133  
1134  
1135  
1136  
1137  
1138  
1139  
1139  
1140  
1141  
1142  
1143  
1144  
1145  
1146  
1147  
1148  
1149  
1149  
1150  
1151  
1152  
1153  
1154  
1155  
1156  
1157  
1158  
1159  
1159  
1160  
1161  
1162  
1163  
1164  
1165  
1166  
1167  
1168  
1169  
1169  
1170  
1171  
1172  
1173  
1174  
1175  
1176  
1177  
1178  
1179  
1179  
1180  
1181  
1182  
1183  
1184  
1185  
1186  
1187  
1188  
1189  
1189  
1190  
1191  
1192  
1193  
1194  
1195  
1196  
1197  
1198  
1198  
1199  
1199  
1200  
1201  
1202  
1203  
1204  
1205  
1206  
1207  
1208  
1209  
1209  
1210  
1211  
1212  
1213  
1214  
1215  
1216  
1217  
1218  
1219  
1219  
1220  
1221  
1222  
1223  
1224  
1225  
1226  
1227  
1228  
1229  
1229  
1230  
1231  
1232  
1233  
1234  
1235  
1236  
1237  
1238  
1239  
1239  
1240  
1241  
1242  
1243  
1244  
1245  
1246  
1247  
1248  
1249  
1249  
1250  
1251  
1252  
1253  
1254  
1255  
1256  
1257  
1258  
1259  
1259  
1260  
1261  
1262  
1263  
1264  
1265  
1266  
1267  
1268  
1269  
1269  
1270  
1271  
1272  
1273  
1274  
1275  
1276  
1277  
1278  
1279  
1279  
1280  
1281  
1282  
1283  
1284  
1285  
1286  
1287  
1288  
1289  
1289  
1290  
1291  
1292  
1293  
1294  
1295  
1296  
1297  
1298  
1298  
1299  
1299  
1300  
1301  
1302  
1303  
1304  
1305  
1306  
1307  
1308  
1309  
1309  
1310  
1311  
1312  
1313  
1314  
1315  
1316  
1317  
1318  
1319  
1319  
1320  
1321  
1322  
1323  
1324  
1325  
1326  
1327  
1328  
1329  
1329  
1330  
1331  
1332  
1333  
1334  
1335  
1336  
1337  
1338  
1339  
1339  
1340  
1341  
1342  
1343  
1344  
1345  
1346  
1347  
1348  
1349  
1349  
1350  
1351  
1352  
1353  
1354  
1355  
1356  
1357  
1358  
1359  
1359  
1360  
1361  
1362  
1363  
1364  
1365  
1366  
1367  
1368  
1369  
1369  
1370  
1371  
1372  
1373  
1374  
1375  
1376  
1377  
1378  
1379  
1379  
1380  
1381  
1382  
1383  
1384  
1385  
1386  
1387  
1388  
1389  
1389  
1390  
1391  
1392  
1393  
1394  
1395  
1396  
1397  
1398  
1398  
1399  
1399  
1400  
1401  
1402  
1403  
1404  
1405  
1406  
1407  
1408  
1409  
1409  
1410  
1411  
1412  
1413  
1414  
1415  
1416  
1417  
1418  
1419  
1419  
1420  
1421  
1422  
1423  
1424  
1425  
1426  
1427  
1428  
1429  
1429  
1430  
1431  
1432  
1433  
1434  
1435  
1436  
1437  
1438  
1439  
1439  
1440  
1441  
1442  
1443  
1444  
1445  
1446  
1447  
1448  
1449  
1449  
1450  
1451  
1452  
1453  
1454  
1455  
1456  
1457  
1458  
1459  
1459  
1460  
1461  
1462  
1463  
1464  
1465  
1466  
1467  
1468  
1469  
1469  
1470  
1471  
1472  
1473  
1474  
1475  
1476  
1477  
1478  
1479  
1479  
1480  
1481  
1482  
1483  
1484  
1485  
1486  
1487  
1488  
1489  
1489  
1490  
1491  
1492  
1493  
1494  
1495  
1496  
1497  
1498  
1498  
1499  
1499  
1500  
1501  
1502  
1503  
1504  
1505  
1506  
1507  
1508  
1509  
1509  
1510  
1511  
1512  
1513  
1514  
1515  
1516  
1517  
1518  
1519  
1519  
1520  
1521  
1522  
1523  
1524  
1525  
1526  
1527  
1528  
1529  
1529  
1530  
1531  
1532  
1533  
1534  
1535  
1536  
1537  
1538  
1539  
1539  
1540  
1541  
1542  
1543  
1544  
1545  
1546  
1547  
1548  
1549  
1549  
1550  
1551  
1552  
1553  
1554  
1555  
1556  
1557  
1558  
1559  
1559  
1560  
1561  
1562  
1563  
1564  
1565  
1566  
1567  
1568  
1569  
1569  
1570  
1571  
1572  
1573  
1574  
1575  
1576  
1577  
1578  
1579  
1579  
1580  
1581  
1582  
1583  
1584  
1585  
1586  
1587  
1588  
1589  
1589  
1590  
1591  
1592  
1593  
1594  
1595  
1596  
1597  
1598  
1598  
1599  
1599  
1600  
1601  
1602  
1603  
1604  
1605  
1606  
1607  
1608  
1609  
1609  
1610  
1611  
1612  
1613  
1614  
1615  
1616  
1617  
1618  
1619  
1619  
1620  
1621  
1622  
1623  
1624  
1625  
1626  
1627  
1628  
1629  
1629  
1630  
1631  
1632  
1633  
1634  
1635  
1636  
1637  
1638  
1639  
1639  
1640  
1641  
1642  
1643  
1644  
1645  
1646  
1647  
1648  
1649  
1649  
1650  
1651  
1652  
1653  
1654  
1655  
1656  
1657  
1658  
1659  
1659  
1660  
1661  
1662  
1663  
1664  
1665  
1666  
1667  
1668  
1669  
1669  
1670  
1671  
1672  
1673  
1674  
1675  
1676  
1677  
1678  
1679  
1679  
1680  
1681  
1682  
1683  
1684  
1685  
1686  
1687  
1688  
1689  
1689  
1690  
1691  
1692  
1693  
1694  
1695  
1696  
1697  
1698  
1698  
1699  
1699  
1700  
1701  
1702  
1703  
1704  
1705  
1706  
1707  
1708  
1709  
1709  
1710  
1711  
1712  
1713  
1714  
1715  
1716  
1717  
1718  
1719  
1719  
1720  
1721  
1722  
1723  
1724  
1725  
1726  
1727  
1728  
1729  
1729  
1730  
1731  
1732  
1733  
1734  
1735  
1736  
1737  
1738  
1739  
1739  
1740  
1741  
1742  
1743  
1744  
1745  
1746  
1747  
1748  
1749  
1749  
1750  
1751  
1752  
1753  
1754  
1755  
1756  
1757  
1758  
1759  
1759  
1760  
1761  
1762  
1763  
1764  
1765  
1766  
1767  
1768  
1769  
1769  
1770  
1771  
1772  
1773  
1774  
1775  
1776  
1777  
1778  
1779  
1779  
1780  
1781  
1782  
1783  
1784  
1785  
1786  
1787  
1788  
1789  
1789  
1790  
1791  
1792  
1793  
1794  
1795  
1796  
1797  
1798  
1798  
1799  
1799  
1800  
1801  
1802  
1803  
1804  
1805  
1806  
1807  
1808  
1809  
1809  
1810  
1811  
1812  
1813  
1814  
1815  
1816  
1817  
1818  
1819  
1819  
1820  
1821  
1822  
1823  
1824  
1825  
1826  
1827  
1828  
1829  
1829  
1830  
1831  
1832  
1833  
1834  
1835  
1836  
1837  
1838  
1839  
1839  
1840  
1841  
1842  
1843  
1844  
1845  
1846  
1847  
1848  
1849  
1849  
1850  
1851  
1852  
1853  
1854  
1855  
1856  
1857  
1858  
1859  
1859  
1860  
1861  
1862  
1863  
1864  
1865  
1866  
1867  
1868  
1869  
1869  
1870  
1871  
1872  
1873  
1874  
1875  
1876  
1877  
1878  
1879  
1879  
1880  
1881  
1882  
1883  
1884  
1885  
1886  
1887  
1888  
1889  
1889  
1890  
1891  
1892  
1893  
1894  
1895  
1896  
1897  
1898  
1898  
1899  
1899  
1900  
1901  
1902  
1903  
1904  
1905  
1906  
1907  
1908  
1909  
1909  
1910  
1911  
1912  
1913  
1914  
1915  
1916  
1917  
1918  
1919  
1919  
1920  
1921  
1922  
1923  
1924  
1925  
1926  
1927  
1928  
1929  
1929  
1930  
1931  
1932  
1933  
1934  
1935  
1936  
1937  
1938  
1939  
1939  
1940  
1941  
1942  
1943  
1944  
1945  
1946  
1947  
1948  
1949  
1949  
1950  
1951  
1952  
1953  
1954  
1955  
1956  
1957  
1958  
1959  
1959  
1960  
1961  
1962  
1963  
1964  
1965  
1966  
1967  
1968  
1969  
1969  
1970  
1971  
1972  
1973  
1974  
1975  
1976  
1977  
1978  
1979  
1979  
1980  
1981  
1982  
1983  
1984  
1985  
1986  
1987  
1988  
1989  
1989  
1990  
1991  
1992  
1993  
1994  
1995  
1996  
1997  
1998  
1998  
1999  
1999  
2000  
2001  
2002  
2003  
2004  
2005  
2006  
2007  
2008  
2009  
2009  
2010  
2011  
2012  
2013  
2014  
2015  
2016  
2017  
2018  
2019  
2019  
2020  
2021  
2022  
2023  
2024  
2025  
2026  
2027  
2028  
2029  
2029  
2030  
2031  
2032  
2033  
2034  
2035  
2036  
2037  
2038  
2039  
2039  
2040  
2041  
2042  
2043  
2044  
2045  
2046  
2047  
2048  
2049  
2049  
2050  
2051  
2052  
2053  
2054  
2055  
2056  
2057  
2058  
2059  
2059  
2060  
2061  
2

#### EDITORS' PREFACE.

The premature death of Benjamin Powell in June, 1905, several days before the Commencement at which he would have received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Cornell University, made it impossible for him to superintend the publication of his Doctor's Thesis. The task, therefore, of reading and correcting the proof has devolved entirely on the Editors of the Cornell Studies.

They have been greatly aided in this task by Dr. L. L. Forman, of Cornell University. It is hoped that the result is such as would meet with the approval of Dr. Powell.



## PREFACE.

In this treatment of Erichthonius and the Three Daughters of Cecrops but little is required by way of introduction. I think the body of the work may speak for itself. Even a short sketch of the work done by me in the study of religion, myth, and ritual would be of little practical value to my readers. My plan has been to study the sources for this particular myth as fully as possible, and to adapt to my use the information thus gained from the classical writers. It seemed to me wise to treat the subject broadly, rather than to hew to one hard and fast line and try to make everything conform to a preconceived view. So many changes and influences come into the history of a myth that a great deal of allowance has to be made for peculiar features which do not belong to it originally.

I have tried to arrive at the truth and to present it, although at one time I may adopt a suggestion from one author and at another time discover the truth in an author whose ideas are opposed to those of the first. However for a complete survey, one must take many points into consideration, the etymology of names, whether the divine personage in question was a personification of some natural phenomenon, or a beast, bird, reptile or insect, a totem, a spirit of the crops, or an historical personage. This I have endeavored to do and my results are hereinafter set down. The writers whose works are used in my text are carefully credited with each reference. The work of Miss J. E. Harrison, who has discussed this myth more than any other writer, has been especially helpful. The literary sources are put in a body at the end.

The myth, which must be one of the most ancient at Athens, was not written down until somewhat late in her history, so that the classical evidence, although appearing somewhat bulky, is not always satisfactory and is often but a repetition of some previous account. I have begun the discussion with the different classical accounts of the myth and have then passed on to an attempted explanation of its meaning and that of the ritual connected with it. As will be seen, anthropology has entered largely into the discussion throughout.



## ERICHTHONIUS AND THE THREE DAUGHTERS OF CECROPS.

Antigonus Carystius (*Historiae Mirabiles*, xii)<sup>1</sup> quotes Amelisagoras, the Athenian, who is telling the reason why no crow flies over the Acropolis, and why no one could say that he had ever seen one. He gives a mythological cause. "The goddess Athena was given as a wife to Hephaestus, but when she had lain down with him, she disappeared and Hephaestus, falling to the ground, spent his seed. The earth afterwards gave birth to Erichthonius, whom Athena nourished and shut up in a chest. This chest she gave into the keeping of the daughters of Cecrops, Agraulus, Pandrosus and Herse and enjoined upon them not to open the chest until she returned. She then went away to Pellene<sup>a</sup> to bring a mass of rock, that she might fortify the Acropolis. Two of the daughters of Cecrops, Agraulus and Pandrosus, opened the chest and saw two serpents coiled about Erichthonius. It is said that a crow met Athena as she was returning with her load and told her that Erichthonius was exposed. When the goddess heard this, she threw down the mass of rock, which is now Mount Lycabettus, and hurried to the Acropolis. On account of this evil message, she told the crow that it would be unlawful for it to approach the Acropolis."

Euripides in the *Ion* (l. 23)<sup>2</sup> refers to the story and writes that Athena placed two serpents as guards over Erichthonius. She then gave him to the Aglauridian maidens (*πυρθένοις Ἀγλαυρίοι*) to keep. Again in the *Ion* (l. 272 ff.)<sup>3</sup>, he refers to the fate of the maidens. They broke the command of the goddess and at their death stained the rocks with blood (*i. e.*, threw themselves over the edge of the Acropolis).

<sup>a</sup> Mommsen (*Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 498. N.) thinks this was the Thracian Pallene.

Apollodorus tells the story in detail (iii, 14, 6)<sup>4</sup>: "Some say that Erichthonius was the son of Hephaestus and Atthis, the daughter of Cranaus, but others say of Hephaestus and Athena, as follows: Athena visited Hephaestus to see about the preparation of her armor. He, being deserted by Aphrodite, was overcome with desire of Athena and tried to assault her, but she, being a virgin, did not permit it. He spent his seed on the thigh of the goddess and she, having wiped it off with a piece of wool, threw it on the ground, whence Erichthonius was born. Athena brought up Erichthonius without the knowledge of the other gods, wishing to make him immortal. She put him in a chest and gave it to Pandrosus, the daughter of Cecrops, telling her not to open it. The sisters of Pandrosus, however, opened it through curiosity and saw the infant enfolded by a snake. Some say they were caught by the snake, and some say they went mad on account of the rage of Athena, and threw themselves down from the Acropolis. Erichthonius was brought up in the sanctuary of the goddess and afterwards dethroned Amphictyon, and ruled as king at Athens. On the Acropolis he set up a wooden image of Athena; he instituted the festival of the Panathenaea and married the nymph Praxithea; by her he had a son Pandion."

The scholiast on the Iliad, B 547<sup>5</sup>, tells this story, in part word for word as Apollodorus does; he derives the name of Erichthonius from *ἔριον*, the wool used by Athena, and from *χθών*, the earth from which the child was born.

Ovid refers to the myth (Metamorphoses, ii, 552 ff.)<sup>6</sup> and speaks of Erichthonius as created without a mother. He was shut up in a chest and this was given to the three maidens to keep unopened. Pandrosus and Herse obeyed, but Aglaurus opened the box and saw the child and snake inside. Again in the second book of the Metamorphoses (l. 749)<sup>7</sup>, Ovid says that Aglaurus disclosed the secret.

Hyginus in his Fabulae (166)<sup>8</sup> tells the story, saying that Vulcan had made golden chairs of adamant<sup>9</sup> for Jupiter and

<sup>4</sup> *Solia aurea ex adamante.*

the other gods. When Juno sat down, she was unable to rise. Vulcan was sent for to loose his mother, but he denied that he had any mother, being angry because he had been thrown out of heaven. Bacchus, however, made him drunk and brought him into the council of the gods, where he loosed Juno and was given by Jupiter the right to ask for whatever he wished as a reward. Neptune was angry at Minerva and incited Vulcan to demand her in marriage. Vulcan did so and his request was granted, but Minerva repulsed the god and Erichthonius was born from the earth in accordance with the usual story. He was of the form of a serpent in the lower part of his body. His name came from *Ἒπις*, "strife", and *χθών*, "earth". Minerva nurtured him secretly and gave him in a chest to Aglaurus, Pandrosus, and Herse, so that they might guard him. When the maidens opened the chest, a crow made it known to Minerva, and the maidens, seized with madness, threw themselves into the sea.

In his *Astronomica* (ii, 13)<sup>9</sup>, Hyginus<sup>a</sup> tells the myth in connection with his account of the constellation, Heniochus, the Charioteer, or in Latin, Auriga. Hyginus says that Eratosthenes, the Alexandrian scientist, calls this constellation "Erichthonius", "because Jupiter, when he saw that Erichthonius was the first man to yoke horses four abreast admired his ingenuity, since he was doing just as Sol did, who first employed *quadrigae* among the gods. Besides *quadrigae*, Erichthonius introduced also sacrifices to Athena and built a temple on the Athenian acropolis."

In the story of Erichthonius' birth, Hyginus, quoting Euripides as an authority, merely notes that Vulcan was carried away by Minerva's beauty and asked for her favors. He was refused and then tried to assault her, with the before-mentioned result. Minerva covered the seed with dust and Erichthonius

<sup>a</sup> Schanz declares that it can be proved that the *Fabulae* and the *Poetica Astronomica* were written by one and the same Hyginus (see his *Geschichte d. röm. Literatur*<sup>2</sup> in I. Müller's *Handbuch*, viii, 2, 331.) Some later authorities refer the *Fabulae* and *Astronomica* to different authors.

was born (Hyginus gives his etymology), concealed in the chest, and given to the daughters of Erechtheus (*sic*). "They, out of curiosity, opened the box and saw a snake, became mad, and threw themselves down from the citadel at Athens. The snake fled to the shield of Minerva and was brought up by her. Some say that Erichthonius had limbs like a snake. He, while a youth, instituted the Panathenaic games and he himself raced in the quadriga, for all of which he was placed among the stars."

Pausanias writes (i, 18, 2)<sup>10</sup> that Athena put Erichthonius in a box and gave him to the three sisters, telling them not to pry into the box. Pandrosus obeyed, but the other two opened it, went mad and threw themselves down from the Acropolis where it was precipitous.

Tertullian in commenting on Vergil, writes (De Spectaculis, 9)<sup>11</sup> that Erichthonius, born of lust, was not a snake, but was the devil himself.

Philostratus (Apoll. Epist. vii, 24)<sup>12</sup> mentions the fact that Athena, the goddess of the Athenians, at one time gave birth to a serpent. He does not mention Erichthonius by name, nor the three sisters.

Lactantius tells the story (Divin. Instit. i, 17)<sup>13</sup> just as Hyginus does in his Fables, with this variant only, which Apollodorus also implies, namely, that Vulcan made arms for the gods and so was granted a wish by Jupiter. Lactantius, continuing the story, writes that Minerva shut the child up in a box with a snake. He holds up the morals of the pagan divinities to ridicule and in his Epitome (9, 2)<sup>14</sup> he again mentions Erichthonius as springing like a fungus out of the earth.

Probus, Servius, and Philargyrius, commenting on Vergil (Georg. iii, 113)<sup>15</sup>, write that Erichthonius was a child of Electra and Jupiter, but in their time that was not mentioned. He was said to be a son of Vulcan and the Earth. The story of Vulcan and Minerva is told and the etymology of Hyginus is given. Then Servius says, "moreover, he is said to be the first who employed *quadrigae*, so that he might the more properly conceal his snake-feet."

Augustine writes (*De civ. dei*, xviii, 12)<sup>16</sup> that Erichthonius was the child of Vulcan and Minerva, but because the ancients wished Minerva to retain her virginity, the story of the struggle with Vulcan was told and the birth of Erichthonius was said to be from the earth, the name coming from "strife" and "earth". He furthermore adds that Vulcan and Minerva had a temple in common at Athens, where there was exposed to view a boy encircled by a snake. Since he was in this temple, common to Minerva and Vulcan (*Paus.* i. 14, 6)<sup>17</sup>, and since his parents were unknown, the child was said to be the son of these two divinities. Augustine concludes, "the former myth tells the origin of his name better than this latter account."

Lactantius Placidus, the scholiast, in his *Nar. Fab.* (ii, 12)<sup>18</sup> records that at Athens the maidens carried color materials (*pigmenta*)<sup>19</sup> in baskets in a sacred rite in honor of Minerva. Among these, distinguished by her striking appearance, Herse, the daughter of Cecrops, was seen by Mercury. Accordingly he approached her sister, Aglaurus, and begged her to bring him to Herse. But Aglaurus demanded gold for her service and Minerva was greatly offended at her avarice, on account of which she had also opened the little box entrusted to the care of her sisters and, moreover, had done this against the express command of the goddess. So Minerva, having tortured her, turned her into a rock. Placidus is evidently mixing narratives and is either writing from memory or from a distorted version of the original story of the chest and the fall from the rock of the Acropolis.

Fulgentius in his *Mythologiae* (ii, 14)<sup>20</sup> says that Jupiter granted a wish to Vulcan in return for services rendered in making thunderbolts. He gives the account of the struggle with Minerva. Erichthonius was born and, with a snake as guardian, was put in a box and given to Aglaurus and Pandora (*sic*). Erichthonius first invented the chariot.

<sup>16</sup> I have given reasons later why it seems better to emend this "pigmenta" to "figmenta."

The Scholia Bernensia on Vergil's Georgics (iii, 113)<sup>20</sup> record that Gaudentius said that the boy, conceived in lust, was born with lower limbs like a snake and that he employed a chariot in order to conceal the hideousness of his body.

The *Etymologicum Magnum* tells us that Erechtheus was also called Erichthonius (s. v. *Ἐρεχθεύς*)<sup>21</sup>. The story runs that Hephaestus was called in to assist Zeus at the birth of Athena, by splitting his head with an axe. Athena sprang forth and Hephaestus pursued her, but was repulsed by the goddess. The etymology of the snake-limbed Erichthonius is given as Apollodorus gives it, that is from *ἔριον*, the wool used by Athena in cleansing herself, and from *χθών*, earth.

The scholiast on Plato's *Timaeus* (426)<sup>22</sup> and also the account given in the *Mythographi Graeci* (ed. Westermann, pp. 359-360)<sup>23</sup> follow the *Etymologicum Magnum*. Eudocia, the Byzantine writer, in her *Violarium*, gives the story in three different places, all of which agree in substance, namely, I<sup>r</sup> (p. 7)<sup>24</sup> concerning Athena; CCCI., (p. 151)<sup>25</sup>, where it is told of the birth of Erechtheus; and CCCLV., (p. 159)<sup>26</sup>, where it is connected with Erichthonius as usual.

A summary shows the story as follows: Hephaestus, for some reason (as a reward from Zeus or simply carried away by her beauty), attempts a union with Athena, the maiden-goddess. In a struggle he is repulsed, loses his seed, and as a result, Erichthonius is born from the earth, without a mother. A variant story is indicated when Apollodorus (iii, 14, 16) records that he was said by some to be the son of Atthis, *Cranaus'* daughter<sup>27</sup>, and of Hephaestus, and Servius recalls that he was once regarded as the son of Electra and Jupiter.

Erichthonius was in the shape of a man-child, according to Amelesagoras, Euripides, Apollodorus, Ovid, Pausanias, Lactantius, Augustine, and Fulgentius; but according to Hyginus, Servius, the Scholia Bernensia, the *Etymologicum Magnum*, and

<sup>20</sup> Miss Harrison (*Mythology and Monuments*, p. xxvi) makes the mistake of saying, "son of Atthis and Cranaus."

Eudocia, he was half man and half serpent. Philostratus and Tertullian seem to imply that he was all serpent.

Erichthonius is protected by Athena secretly, concealed in a box, and given into the charge of the three daughters of Cecrops, Aglaurus, Pandrosus, and Herse, who break their trust and open the box against the orders of Athena.

Euripides and Hyginus state that all the sisters were blame-worthy. Amelesagoras, Fulgentius (?), and Athenagoras (Legat. pro Christ. i)<sup>27</sup> say that Aglaurus and Pandrosus were guilty; Apollodorus and Pausanias say Aglaurus and Herse, and Ovid says Aglaurus alone was guilty. Aglaurus is implicated in all cases and so may be regarded as the guilty one, while Pandrosus is innocent.

Amelesagoras and Euripides speak of two snakes, and a vase in the British Museum (Cat. E 418; Roscher, Lex., vol. i, p. 1307) shows two (see Fig. 8). Ovid, Apollodorus, Hyginus (Astr.) Lactantius, Augustine and Fulgentius, also a vase by Brygus (Robert, Bild und Lied, p. 88) know of only one snake (see Fig. 9).

Euripides, Apollodorus, Pausanias, and Hyginus say that the girls went mad and threw themselves from the Acropolis, but Apollodorus also gives another version, according to which they were said to have been killed by the snake.

Erichthonius grew up, became ruler of Athens, had a son Pandion, invented *quadrigae* (Vergil, Georg. iii, 113), instituted games in honor of Athena, and built a temple for her. He was finally placed among the stars as the constellation Auriga.

The history of the three sisters is short. It will be necessary to study briefly the history of each sister separately. The evidence may be found also in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexicon* in the articles, Aglaurus by Roscher, Pandrosus by H. Lewy, and Herse by Seeliger. Aglaurus is treated by Toepffer also in the Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie*.

Aglaurus, Pandrosus, and Herse were the daughters of Cecrops and Aglaurus. Cecrops was said to be an early king of Athens; he was an emigrant from Egypt or Phoenicia and his wife

Aglaurus was the daughter of Actaeus, first king of Athens. Besides the three daughters, they had one son, Erysichthon (Apollodorus iii, 14, 2<sup>38</sup>; Pausanias i, 2, 6<sup>39</sup>; Euripides, Ion 492)<sup>30</sup>.

The daughter Aglaurus is called by Suidas (s. v. *Φοινικ. γραμμ.*)<sup>31</sup> the daughter of Actaeon, as are also Pandrosus and Herse. In this account there is a probable confusion with the mother Aglaurus, who was the daughter of Actaeus. Aglaurus was beloved of Ares and had by him a daughter Alcippe; this daughter was violated by Halirrothius, the son of Poseidon, and, in consequence, he was killed by Ares. Aglaurus seems to have been blameworthy in opening the chest and was either killed by the snake or threw herself from the Acropolis.

According to the story told by Ovid (Metamorph. ii, 710–835)<sup>7</sup>, Hermes fell in love with Herse at the Pauathenaic festival (according to Ptolemaeus in Schol. Il. A 334<sup>32</sup> Pandrosus is the bride of Hermes), and asked Aglaurus to further his suit with her sister. Athena, however, remembering Aglaurus's former disobedience, filled her with envy of Herse and Aglaurus refused to permit Hermes to visit Herse; she was, in consequence, turned into a stone. Lactantius Placidus also refers to this version.

Pandrosus was the sister of Aglaurus and Herse, or, according to Seamon (Suidas, *Φοινικ. γραμμ.*)<sup>33</sup>, sister of Phoenice and daughter of Actaeon. Pandrosus, if we follow the common story, alone obeyed the command of Athena. She appears as the mother of Ceryx by Hermes (Pollux, viii, 103<sup>34</sup>; Schol. Il. A 334<sup>32</sup>; Schol. Aeschines, i, 20)<sup>34</sup>; according to others Aglaurus was the mother of Ceryx (Pausanias, i, 38, 3)<sup>35</sup>. This Ceryx was the tribe father of the family of the Ceryces in the Eleusinian service; by Hesychius<sup>36</sup>, Suidas, and Harpocration (s. v. *κέρυκες*)<sup>37</sup> he is merely said to be the son of Hermes; no mother is mentioned.

Herse, the third sister, was the beloved of Hermes (Apollod., iii, 14, 3<sup>38</sup>; Ovid ii, 710–835<sup>7</sup>; Lact. Plac., Fab., ii, 12)<sup>18</sup>, and by him she bore Cephalus. According to the Regilla inscription (C. I. G. 6280)<sup>39</sup>, Ceryx was the son of Hermes and Herse.

Ceryx is thus seen to be assigned as a son to each of the three sisters in turn. This is to be explained (Toepffer, Attische Genealogie, p. 83<sup>a</sup>; Gruppe, Griech. Myth. p. 52) by the fact that later, when Athens and Eleusis had formed a close political union, there came to be an identification or parallelization of the three daughters of Cecrops with the Charites or Horae, Auxo, Thallo, and Carpo, who were closely associated with Hermes at Eleusis (C. I. A. i, 5<sup>10</sup>; also s. v. Aglaurus, Pauly-Wissowa). Other relationship with Attica is shown by the fact that Cephalus was said to be the son of Hermes and Herse, and the Cephalids of Thoricus were related to the Ceryces of Eleusis (Gruppe, Griechische Mythologie, p. 51).<sup>11</sup>

This connection is mentioned later in the discussion of the origin of Herse and was noticed by C. Robert (De Gratiis Atticis in Comment. Mommsen, p. 143 ffl.).

These triads of Aglaurides and Charites or Horae are possibly related also to the four Ionian nymphs (*Ιωνίδες νύμφαι*), mentioned by Pausanias (vi, 22, 7)<sup>12</sup> and Strabo (viii, 356)<sup>13</sup>. Pausanias records that there was a sanctuary of these nymphs near a spring at Heraclea, a village not far from Olympia. Their names were Calliphaea, Synallaxis, Pegaea, and Iasis. Persons who bathed in this spring were cured of bodily pains. Pausanias adds that the nymphs were called Ionian from Ion of Gargettus, who emigrated hither from Athens. This then would establish a close relationship between the Aglaurid maidens of Euripides's Ion, who danced on the northern slope of the Acropolis, and the nymphs, the nurses of Epimenides Buzyges (Toepffer, Att. Gen.,

<sup>a</sup> Toepffer, Attische Geneal., p. 83, N. "Bedenkt man, wie nahe Chariten, Nymphen und Thauschwestern einander stehen, so liegt die Vermuthung nahe, dass die Kekropstöchter in Athen an Stelle der in Eleusis mit Hermes verbundenen Chariten (C. I. A. i, 5) getreten sind. Daher ist man sich auch nicht klar, welche der Schwestern die Stammutter des Kerykengeschlechtes ist."

<sup>b</sup> I. c.—"die genannten Keryken, bereits, wie später, in einem genealogischen Verhältnis zu den Kephaliden von Thorikos stehend, das deshalb im Hymnos (to Demeter) von allen attischen Orten allein genannt wird."

p. 144), of that same region, who are depicted in a dance with Pan on many reliefs found in his cave close to the north-west corner of the citadel (Furtwängler, *Athen. Mitth.*, iii, 200).

As has been set forth by Mr. Farnell<sup>a</sup>, the rivalry of Poseidon and Athena in Attica for the possession of the land, and many similar theomachies contain an historical fact, an actual conflict of worships. Athena was the older divinity in Attica<sup>b</sup> and, according to Mr. Farnell, Poseidon was the great god of the Ionians; the strife and reconciliation on the Acropolis being "the religious counterpart of the old Attic and Ionic elements of the population."

There is evidence to show that Poseidon was not an Aryan divinity originally. His name has been a stumbling block to the comparative philologists and to form an idea of the many etymologies it is only necessary to glance at the various conjectures given in the Pape-Beuseler *Wörterbuch* under his name. Moreover, oftentimes Poseidon's material shape is not in keeping with the general anthropomorphic characteristics of the pantheon of Achaean divinities.

One of the latest etymologies to appear is that of Robert Brown<sup>c</sup>; he gives the derivation of the name of Poseidon as follows: There was an Itanos in Crete; i-Tan is "the island of Tan." Tan on coins is a person with a fish-tail, carrying a trident like Neptune; the same figure is seen on the coins of Ashqelôn. From the two forms Itanos and Itônos, we get first Πόσις Ἰτανός = Ποσιδάν, Ποσειδάν and then Πόσις Ἰτωνός = Ποσειδῶν, *i. e.*, 'Lord of the isle of Tan' (Crete).

<sup>a</sup> *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. i, p. 270.

<sup>b</sup> Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 303: "At first the maiden of the elder stratum, she has to contend for supremacy with a god of that stratum, Poseidon. Poseidon, the late Mr. R. A. Neil has shown (*The Knights of Aristophanes*, p. 83), was the god of the ancient aristocracy of Athens, an aristocracy based, as they claimed descent from Poseidon, on patriarchal conditions."

<sup>c</sup> *Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology*, p. 127.

In the competition Athena produced the olive, and Poseidon, the war-horse,<sup>a</sup> known in Acadian as *ansu-kurra*, "the animal from the East." This war-horse, which also appears as a sea-horse,<sup>b</sup> gives to Poseidon many epithets, such, for example, as Hippius<sup>43</sup>, Hippagetes<sup>44</sup>, Hippocurius<sup>45</sup>, and Hippomedon<sup>46</sup>. Mr. Brown leaps to a conclusion in combatting the theory that the gods are personifications of natural forces, and says<sup>c</sup>, quite on his own authority, that this competition "is no contest between the Dawn (Athene) and the Sea (Poseidon), but marks a time when King Porphyryion (The Purple-Man, the Phoenician) ruled at Athens and had his goddess Aphrodite Ourania (Aschthârth Melekhet-Haschâmaim = Astarte, Queen of Heaven) and also Poseidon<sup>d</sup>."

Poseidon is seen in his oriental aspect in other parts of Greece. There was a myth concerning Demeter-Krinnys in Arcadia (Paus. viii, 25)<sup>49</sup>, in which Poseidon as a horse followed Demeter as a mare and begat Arion, a horse. Mannhardt<sup>e</sup> attempted an explanation of this myth, making Poseidon represent the wind rushing over the corn-fields, typified by Demeter, and fructifying them. But we must consider that Poseidon is not the god of wind. Andrew Lang criticises Mannhardt<sup>f</sup>, but attempts no

<sup>a</sup> Miss Harrison (Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens, p. 441) gives an illustration from a vase from Kertsch, now in the Hermitage Museum (see Fig. 1), where the competition is the subject. She writes, "The serpent in this composition is usually supposed to belong to Athene and to be attacking Poseidon; I believe him to be the symbol of Poseidon's spring." This seems improbable, for in the illustration the horse is plainly seen. See also Vergil, Aeneid, i, 444<sup>47</sup>, where the horse is given as a sign of a Phoenician settlement at Carthage.

<sup>b</sup> For the simile of likening curling waves to horses, see Shakespeare, Othello, ii, 1, 13, "The wind-shaken surge, with high and monstrous mane." Also the painting in the "Art of Walter Crane," by P. G. Konody.

<sup>c</sup> Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology, p. 101.

<sup>d</sup> Pausanias, i, 14, 7<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Mythologische Forschungen, p. 265.

<sup>f</sup> Modern Mythology, p. 51.

explanation of his own. According to Robert Brown,<sup>a</sup> the Poseidon represented in this myth was the fish-tailed Euphratean Ea, Lord of the Deep (which includes the sea), and Demeter-Erinnyes was the earth-goddess, Davkina ('Lady of the Earth'). Such an unanthropomorphic myth is plainly oriental. How this one penetrated to Arcadia, we cannot say.

There seems to be ground, therefore, for supposing that Poseidon in some of his aspects, at least, was originally an eastern or Semitic divinity.

Miss Harrison takes a different view<sup>b</sup> about the strife of Athena and Poseidon and thinks that "Poseidon had been in all probability established in Athens long before Athena came," basing her conclusion on the passage in Isocrates (*Panath.* 193)<sup>50</sup> which records that Eumolpus, in disputing the rule of Athens with Erechtheus, claimed that Poseidon had possessed it before Athena. Miss Harrison, however, has since changed her view and now thinks that Athena was there first.<sup>c</sup>

Miss Harrison (l. c.) ventures the assertion that one of the names of Poseidon was Erechtheus. Mr. Farnell thinks<sup>d</sup> that "Erechtheus was a figure that personified the ancient birth and growth of the state, and his cult was the heart of the city's life." He furthermore adds, "The fair interpretation of all the evidence is that she (Athena) was there very long before Poseidon came. Nor is there any evidence that Poseidon was called *Ἐρεχθεύς* in his own right or anywhere else except at Athens, for the mention in Homer of a King Erichthonius, son of Dardanos, 'richest of mortal men, who owned mares that Boreas loved' (*Il.* V,

<sup>a</sup> *Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology*, p. 48.

<sup>b</sup> *Mythology and Monuments*, p. lix.

<sup>c</sup> On p. xxv of *Mythology and Monuments*, Miss Harrison writes that a crooked olive on the Acropolis and a salt-spring were enough to start the myth. The cause seems to me to reach a little further. These two objects merely made the story local on the Acropolis.

<sup>d</sup> *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 303. Quoted on p. 10.

<sup>e</sup> *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. i, p. 270 and Note a.

222) is too doubtful to be called evidence. If Erechtheus was the old agricultural god or hero of Attica, who afterwards lent his name to Poseidon, we can understand why he should be buried, as Dionysos and Adonis and other divinities of vegetation were; but why should he be buried if he were Poscidon?"

There can be no doubt that Poseidon took the name of Erechtheus for himself at some period, and this is a thread of evidence showing that the two divinities were considered identical. The evidence found in Hesychius (s. v. Ἐρέχθεος)<sup>51</sup>, in Lycophron (158, 431)<sup>52</sup>, in Apollodorus (iii, 15, 1)<sup>53</sup> and in inscriptions (C. I. A., i, 387<sup>54</sup>; iii, 276<sup>55</sup>, 805<sup>56</sup>) shows this.

As one entered the Erechtheum there was an altar for sacrifices to both Poseidon and Erechtheus. The Boutadae, an agricultural clan at Athens, who had charge of the worship of Erechtheus, became priests of Poseidon-Erechtheus (Paus. i, 26, 5)<sup>57</sup>. Erechtheus is a form of Erichthonius and so in a way is the child of Athena. Apollodorus (iii, 15, 1)<sup>58</sup> writes that Butes was the first priest of Athena and Poseidon-Erichthonius. We know from Aeschines (Parapres., 147)<sup>59</sup> that the priestess of Athena Polias was chosen from the tribe of Eteoboutadae. I cannot enter into the argument here, but it will serve merely to suggest that the mythological relation between Athena and Erichthonius is shown in the junction of the worships of Poseidon and Athena in the Erechtheum on the Acropolis (Paus., i, 26, 6-7)<sup>60</sup>, and also at Colonus, where Poseidon Hippius and Athena Hippia were worshipped together (Paus. i, 30, 4)<sup>61</sup>. Again as father of Theseus and Eumolpus<sup>a</sup>, Poseidon is represented as an alien god. This Eumolpus is probably only another form of the foreign sea-god. Miss Harrison<sup>b</sup> writes that Erichthonius, or rather Erechtheus, when properly reborn, could be "made to fight with his sea-god double, Eumolpus."

Let us examine the statement that Erechtheus is a form of Erichthonius. Mr. Farnell (l. c., p. 271) thinks that Erechtheus

<sup>a</sup> Paus. i, 17, 3<sup>59</sup>; i, 38, 2<sup>60</sup>; Apollod. iii, 15, 4<sup>61</sup>; Lycurg. 98<sup>62</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Mythology and Monuments, p. lix.

is the double of Erichthonius. Mr. Brown (l. c., p. 101) speaks of "Erichthonios, otherwise Erechtheus, representative of the native Attic race." Hesychius (s. v. Ἐρέχθεύς)<sup>51</sup> records that Erichthonius was an epithet of Poseidon. *Etymologicum Magnum* (s. v. Ἐρέχθεύς)<sup>52</sup> has the phrase ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ λέγεται καὶ Ἐριχθόνιος, (also Schol. on *Iliad*, B 547)<sup>53</sup>. Miss Harrison (l. c., p. xlvi) says Erichthonius has a double of confusing identity—Erechtheus. Eudocia in her accounts already cited confuses the two names by telling the same story of both.

The distinction between the two is made that Erichthonius is the child hidden in the chest, whereas Erechtheus, no less earth-born, is the mature king, the political factor in the myth. In Homer (B 547)<sup>54</sup> we find only Erechtheus, but Homer in this passage considers only the political founder of Athens. When priority is stated (Eurip. *Ion*, 267<sup>5</sup> and 1007)<sup>56</sup>, it is Erechtheus who is the son of Erichthonius. The identity of these two caused confusion and a "shadowy" Pandion was placed between them in the line of genealogy (Apollod. iii, 14, 6)<sup>57</sup>. Mr. Frazer considers that Erichthonius and Erechtheus were originally identical.<sup>58</sup>

In her *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* (p. xxvii), Miss Harrison asserts that Erichthonius was the eponymous hero of the Athenians and was really Poseidon himself. The Athenians were Erechtheidae, but also autochthonous; so Erichthonius must be earth-born. When Athena became supreme, he must be closely connected with the goddess. "The Greek mind did not lend itself to any notion of immaculate conception." Hephaestus, worshipped along with Athena as an artisan, was the father, and Athena was the mother; but later when Athena came to be thought of as a parthenos, she must resist marriage; hence, the motherhood of Erichthonius was given to Gaea. Miss Harrison thinks that this version was recent when the *Ion* of Euripides was written, for at l. 269<sup>59</sup> it reads :

<sup>51</sup> Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, vol. ii, p. 168.

"And did Athena uplift him from the earth?

Yes, in her maiden hands; she did not bear him,"

seeming to deny some previous statement of her motherhood.

On the other hand, Mr. Farnell (1. c., vol. i, p. 303) contends that Athena was undoubtedly always a virgin to the Athenian mind and was not later made so for political reasons. All this amounts to saying that the Achaean Athena was always a virgin; when Athens reached the height of her culture Athena was made a holy, almost sexless, abstraction. The ideas of motherhood, connected with her name, came from an assimilation of early, chthonic cults which were at first entirely outside her province.

However, if Erichthonius was Poseidon, and Erichthonius was Erechtheus, then Erechtheus was Poseidon, and all three are the same under different manifestations or were introduced under slightly varying circumstances.

There is another personage in the story to be treated here, and that is Cecrops, the so-called ancient king of Athens and father of the three sisters. He was loosely connected with the contest between Poseidon and Athena, but only as an arbitrator. He is much more intimately connected with the birth of Erichthonius. Miss Harrison writes (1. c., p. xlvi), "Erichthonios, the earth-born, is a sort of genealogical double of Cecrops," meaning to imply that they were originally the same. Hyginus (Astron. iii, 13)<sup>9</sup> calls the three sisters, Erechthei filiae, not daughters of Cecrops.

Let us turn to the monuments.

An archaic terra-cotta in the British Museum is probably the earliest representation of any part of this myth.<sup>9</sup> The group (see Fig. 2) shows Mother Earth half rising from the ground and holding up a little child to the goddess Athena. "Old Cecrops, half-man, half-snake, stands by," but the tail of the figure is distinctly not a snake's tail, as Miss Harrison says it is, but is a fish-tail, such as belongs to the Eastern divinity mentioned as

<sup>9</sup> *Mythology and Monuments*, p. xxix, Fig. 2, p. xxviii. Miss Harrison, in her description, changes right hand and left hand.

being on the coins of Cretan Itanus, who is Poseidon. Here he wears a chiton and holds an olive twig in his left hand ; his right hand is raised to his lips. The difference in size of Athena and Gaea is to be noted ; Gaea is a huge, elemental, chthonic shape, while Athena is a trim and dainty figure. This terra-cotta was found at Athens and probably dates from the early fifth century, B.C.

In the Louvre<sup>a</sup>, there is a relief (see Fig. 3), showing Poseidon present at the birth. The central figure is Athena taking the infant Erichthonius from the arms of Gaea. The god Poseidon is seated at the left ; he has matted hair, a half-bare body and is holding a trident or sceptre.

A vase-painting<sup>b</sup>, dating from the end of the fifth century, shows Gaea (see Fig. 4) rising from the earth and holding out the child to Athena. Behind Gaea is Cecrops ; his tail is a snake-tail, falling in loose spirals. He has a staff in his right hand and in his left he holds a fold of his chiton ; on his head he wears a chaplet. Behind Athena is Hephaestus ; so the painter knew of his fatherhood. Herse follows Hephaestus ; then on the reverse follow Aglaurus, Frechtheus, Pandrosus, Aegeus, and last, standing still, is Pallas, a male. All the male figures, except Pallas, wear chaplets and carry staves. The later kings are present merely by an anachronism, as being interested in the birth of their ancestor ; they serve to break the line of running maidens. Herse and Aglaurus are eager ; Pandrosus hangs back, extending her arms. All the figures are distinctly labelled with their names. Robert Brown refers<sup>c</sup> to this vase and calls the figure behind Gaea, Poseidon, half-man, from the waist down a sea-monster in huge spiral coils. But in the inscription the artist names him Cecrops, and no doubt correctly.

<sup>a</sup> *Monumenti dell' Instituto*, I, xii, 1 ; also Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. i, p. 323.

<sup>b</sup> Berlin Catalogue, 2537 ; Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. xxix, fig. 3. Miss Harrison, in her description of this also, confuses right and left.

<sup>c</sup> *Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology*, p. 101.

According to Pernice<sup>a</sup>, the adoption of Erichthonius and the legends connected with him were pictured on the middle metopes of the south side of the Parthenon.

These four characters, Poseidon, Erechtheus, Erichthonius and Cecrops were confused by the ancients, just as they are by modern writers, and, as far as we may judge, were originally the same personage. May not the concealment and final adoption of Erichthonius by Athena be another portrayal of her strife and reconciliation with Poseidon? Cecrops, as another form of the god, was present in either case. Miss Harrison writes (l. c., p. lix), "When Athene and her worship prevailed at Athens, there was Poseidon-Erechtheus to be settled with—Poseidon, whom Athene always hated. It was all arranged with the utmost mythological craft. As Poseidon, it was impossible to affiliate him completely; so for Poseidon was invented the myth of the contest and subsequent supremacy of Athene. But Erechtheus was more malleable; he became the foster son of Athene. . . . .

Erechtheus had to be born again; he must break utterly with his past. . . . . As agriculturist and new-born home hero, he gets confused with old Cecrops; he even borrows his serpent tail sometimes, though he never is quite at ease in it." The three daughters of Erechtheus, who were originally Chthonia, Procris, and Orethys, also became confused with the more famous daughters of Cecrops.

Names are things which are hard to account for; but this jugglery with them need not blind us to the fact that these four were the same divinity. The origin of the different names is beyond our knowledge.

What can be said about Erichthonius or Erechtheus in their aspect of a snake? All four of the personages, mentioned above, show unanthropomorphic characteristics or features, but the appearance of a snake is usually ascribed to Erichthonius. We have seen that by some he was regarded as serpentine only in his lower parts, but by others he was made a serpent pure and

<sup>a</sup> *Jahrbuch für Archäologie* x, (1895), 97.

simple. Pausanias even, in speaking of the statue of Athena Parthenos in the Parthenon, (i, 24, 7)<sup>65</sup> thinks that the serpent beside her was probably Erichthonius. Frazer, in his commentary on Pausanias (vol. ii, p. 169), writes "in the oldest form of the legend Erichthonios or Erechtheus was probably nothing but the sacred serpent of Athene which lived in the Erechtheum, was considered guardian of the Acropolis, and was fed on honey-cakes once a month." A woman in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (l. 758-9)<sup>66</sup> says that she had not been able to sleep on the Acropolis, since she saw the snake which dwelt there. The scholiast on the passage notes that this was the sacred snake of Athena and guardian of the temple. Herodotus (viii, 41)<sup>67</sup> records that a great snake lived in a sanctuary on the Acropolis and was fed honey-cakes monthly. Just before the coming of the Persians against the city, the cakes were uneaten and this was taken as a sign that Athena had left the city. Plutarch (*Themist.* 10)<sup>68</sup> adds that offerings were made to this serpent daily. Hesychius (s. v. *οίκουρὸν ὄφιν* and *δράκανλος*)<sup>69</sup> tells that the snake was the guardian of Athena Polias; "some say there was one and some say two in the sanctuary of Erechtheus. They say he is the guardian of the Acropolis, to whom they offer a honey-cake." Suidas (s. v. *Δράκανλος*)<sup>70</sup>, the *Etymologicum Magnum* (p. 287, s. v. *δράκανλος*)<sup>71</sup>, Photius (Lex., s. v. *οίκουρὸν ὄφιν*)<sup>72</sup>, and Eustathius (on Hom. Odyss. a, 357; p. 1422, l. 7 fl.)<sup>73</sup> all speak of this snake. According to Philostratus (*Imag.* ii, 17, 6)<sup>74</sup>, the sacred serpent lived on the citadel down to his time—third century, A.D. Frazer continues, "According to one story (*Philos. Vit. Apoll.*, vii, 24)<sup>75</sup>, Athene herself was the serpent's mother. The traditions that Erichthonius was half a man and half a serpent, or merely a man guarded by a serpent, represent the usual successive stages of popular belief through which an animal-god passes in the course of sloughing off his animal form and donning that of a man." Miss Harrison, in her *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, deals at length with the worship of snakes. On page 349, she writes, "These humanized snakes are fed with human food; their natural food would

be a live bird or rabbit. Dr. Gadow kindly tells me that a snake will lap milk, but if he is to eat his sacrificial food, the *pelanos*, it must be made *exceedingly thin*; anything of the nature of a cake or even porridge he could not swallow. And yet the snake on the Acropolis had for his monthly due a 'honey-cake'!"

So Erichthonius was originally a mere snake, who was worshipped at Athens. His cult was later adopted by Athena and she became his protectress. The myth of his birth and adoption was invented to explain their relationship.

There were other snakes worshipped as gods in Greece. Meilichius, who later became Zeus, was a snake. This is conclusively shown by Miss Harrison (l. c., pp. 18-20). Aesculapius was a snake originally (ib., p. 341, fl.). Sosipolis at Olympia, who later was absorbed into the cult of Zeus, was a snake. Pausanias (vi, 20, 2<sup>4</sup> and 5<sup>5</sup>) tells the story: "There is a sanctuary of Eileithyia, in which Sosipolis, a native spirit, is honored by the Eleans. . . . The priestess sacrifices to Sosipolis according to the ordinances of the Eleans; she carries in baths for the god and sets out cakes mixed with honey. . . . . It is said that when the Arcadians were making an incursion into Elis and the Eleans were encamped opposite them, a woman came to the generals of the Eleans with a child at her breast. She said that she herself had borne the child and in accordance with her dreams she would give him to fight for the Eleans. And those in command, thinking that the woman spoke the truth, placed the child naked in front of the army. Then the Arcadians came on, and the child was then a snake. And the Arcadians being thrown into confusion at the sight and taking to flight, the Eleans set upon them and won a most signal victory, and they gave the name Sosipolis to the god. And where the snake seemed to disappear after the battle they made a sanctuary. And along with him they honor Eileithyia also, because the goddess herself brought forth the child to men"."

<sup>4</sup> Frazer (Pausanias, vol. iv, p. 76) asserts that Sosipolis was Zeus, using as authorities C. Robert (Athenische Mittheilungen, 18 (1893), pp. 37-45) and Farnell (Cults of the Greek States, vol. i, p. 38). There was a cult of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia on the Maeander.

Farnell writes<sup>a</sup> : "the familiar serpent of Athene, occasionally identified with Erechtheus, may be supposed to have been a symbol of the ancient earth goddess, whose worship was merged in that of Athene and we support this view by the legend of the *Κυχρεῖδης ὄφις*, the serpent that was driven out of Salamis, and entered the service of Demeter, the later form of Gaia" (Strabo, 393<sup>76</sup>; Pausanias, i, 36, 1<sup>77</sup>). Frazer in a note to this passage of Pausanias thinks that this serpent was Cychreus himself. Miss Harrison (Prolegomena, p. 306) writes : "This house-guarding snake, we may conjecture, was the earliest form of every earth-born Kore." According to Miss Harrison, Athena, Aphrodite, and Hera were all originally Corae or manifestations of the same spirit. Farnell adds in a note to what is quoted above that Apollo "may have dispossessed a worship of the earth-snake at Delphi, where Gaia and Gê-Themis had reigned before Apollo, and where religious atonement continued through later times to be made to the Python." Plutarch (Cleomenes, 39)<sup>78</sup> says that "the ancients thought that the serpent, of all animals, was most akin to the heroes," thus showing that all heroes were originally worshipped as snakes, such as are shown on the well-known type of archaic Spartan grave reliefs.

This insistence upon snakes as earth-spirits, or heroes, is evidently correct, but the evidence which we have considered leads us to believe that, in Athens at least, this form of the serpent worship had come from the East in the form of some god, or was influenced in some way by the East.

Miss Harrison (Prolegomena, p. 31) distinguishes two strata in the religion of the Greeks, the one early or chthonic, the other later or Olympian. She accepts Prof. Ridgeway's view that the early stratum was Pelasgian or original, and believes that the later stratum begins with the flesh-eating Achaeans who came from the North (Note, p. 316)<sup>b</sup>. She works the thesis out at

<sup>a</sup> *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. i, p. 290.

<sup>b</sup> "As long ago as 1857, H. D. Müller in his remarkable book, *Mythologie der Griechischen Stämme*, pp. 249-255, saw that Zeus and Hera belonged to stocks racially distinct, and that in the compulsory marriage of Hera to Zeus is reflected the subjugation of a primitive race to Achaean invaders."

length in her book and arrives at the conclusion that the worship of snakes or snakes as heroes (chap. vii) belonged to the early stratum and that on this stratum the northern, Achaean divinities, were superimposed at a later period. I contend that Eastern influence may have come in at this chthonic or early period and may have affected the cult early in its history. • Neglect of this idea makes Miss Harrison's chapter on Aphrodite (p. 308 fl.) peculiarly weak and unconvincing.

Additional evidence on the subject of snakes may show that it is not necessary to regard every snake as a form of earth-spirit.

Miss Harrison<sup>a</sup>, who has investigated this particular subject more than any other writer, has written: "To Aglauros belongs the snake; she brought it to Athens—the snake which signifies, I think, always primarily things chthonic in their sinister, not their fruitful aspect. She lent her snake to Erichthonios, and, when the cult of Eriny, through the medium of Persephone, became blended with that of the Earth-goddess to Demeter, the snake, like all else, Athene took to herself, with better right perhaps, as I shall hope to show another time, than we have hitherto supposed." This loan of a snake to Erichthonius is strange, if Erichthonius was originally himself a snake.

The snake then, which Erichthonius was, or had, or of which he was a part, was of the earth—earthy, according to the opinion of those cited. But Erichthonius was Eastern, and Aglaurus, under the aspect mentioned by Miss Harrison, is Eastern, as I shall hope to show later; so this snake is Eastern, not Greek. It is foreign to Greece.

To understand the un-Hellenic significance of snakes, consider the Cadmus snake of Thebes. The scholiast on Sophocles's *Antigone* (126) writes ἐγεγόνει δὲ δράκων ἐξ Ἀρεως καὶ Τελφώστης Ἐρίννος. Cadmus (*Kedem*—"the man from the East") and the mass of Theban mythology is Eastern or Semitic. The Theban Ares, to whom the fifth or western gate of the city was dedicated, was the Babylonian and Assyrian Nergal ("the Strong"), originally the god of death and the underworld.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xii, p. 355.

<sup>b</sup> R. Brown, *Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology*, p. 141.

Consider again the tale of Zagreus, the horned serpent<sup>a</sup>. Zeus in the form of a serpent violated his daughter Persephone, who was also in the form of a serpent, according to one tradition. From this embrace Zagreus was born (Nonnus (vi, 264) calls him *κερόεν βρέφος*). Jealous Hera set the Titans upon him; he took various shapes, finally that of a bull. The Titans tore him to pieces and ate the remains. His heart, which was left unconsumed, was carried to Zeus, and was then reborn as Dionysus. Salomon Reinach treats of this myth in an article in the *Revue Archéologique* (1899, vol. xxxv, p. 210-17). The substance of his argument is as follows: The three factors, copulating (*enlacés*) serpents, a divine egg, and a horned serpent, are unknown to eastern antiquity. This cult of Zagreus, which became settled at Eleusis, was an Orphic cult. Although the legend is usually attributed to Crete, Reinach shows that a form of the legend was found among the Druids. Pliny (Nat. Hist., xxix, 52)<sup>b</sup> tells of numbers of serpents forming themselves into a ball, from which exuded a sort of bubble of saliva or juice. Pliny does not say that a horned snake was born from this juice; in fact, no snake of any kind was born from it. In the Greek myth, Pliny's multitude of snakes is reduced to two divine ones. The later Gauls worshipped a horned serpent<sup>c</sup>. Reinach connects these two stories and thinks that the essential features of the Greek myth are contained in them, the Greek form being the older and simpler. According to Reinach Druids were the masters of Pythagoras; Pythagoreanism and Orphism were the same, and there was a Celtic element in Orphism: "Pythagorisme était une doctrine aux allures scientifiques fondée sur le premier, qui est une religion populaire" (i. e., Orphism). At an early period there were close relations between Celts, Illyrians, and Thracians. The whole tale is evidently not Greek. Miss Harrison<sup>c</sup> in her

<sup>a</sup> Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 547 ffl. gives the combined stories; see also Abel's *Orphica*, p. 230 ffl., and Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 490-496.

<sup>b</sup> Reinach has treated this in *Revue Archéologique*, 1891, i, p. 1-6, and 1897, ii, p. 313 ffl.

<sup>c</sup> *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 496.

treatment of it shows to what an incomprehensible stage this myth finally came among the Greeks.

The serpent, besides being taken as the symbol of an earth-spirit, according to some authorities, has been taken by others as a corn-spirit, for the myth of the birth of Erichthonius has been interpreted by W. Mannhardt and by Aug. Mommsen as a way of describing the growth of the grain. Mannhardt writes<sup>a</sup> : "Erichthonios (der aus gutem Boden Entsprössene) vom Blitz-gotte Hephaistos gezeugt aus dem fruchttragenden Ackerfelde *ζελδωρος ἀρούρα* emporsteigt als ein neugeborenes Knäblein, das in einer verschlossenen Kiste von den Schwestern Herse (Thau), Pandrosos (Allthau) und Aglaurus (die Heitere) gehütet und genährt wird." Mommsen writes<sup>b</sup> : "Es ist dies eine bildliche Umschreibung der Aussaat des Korns, zunächst wohl der in Attika vorzugsweise angebauten Gerste." . . . . "Erichthonios also ist, wenn man das Bildliche abstreift, der Korn-halm."

Let us ascertain the fundamental principles underlying this matter of snakes, and see just what idea primitive peoples have of snakes. Then it will be easier to judge of their significance in later religion. Havelock Ellis has collected the evidence in such a succinct manner that I can not do better than quote his words<sup>c</sup> : "There is no fragment of folk-lore so familiar to the European world as that which connects woman with the serpent. It is, indeed, one of the foundation stones of Christian theology. . . . Robertson Smith points out that since snakes are the last noxious animals which man is able to exterminate, they are the last to be associated with demons. They were ultimately the only animals directly and constantly associated with the Arabian *jinn* or demon, and the serpent of Eden was a demon, and not a temporary disguise of Satan (Religion of the Semites, pp.

<sup>a</sup> Die Kornrämonen, p. 33.

<sup>b</sup> Feste der Stadt Athen, p. 6, Note 3.

<sup>c</sup> Havelock Ellis, Studies in the Psychology of Sex; Menstruation and the Position of Women, p. 206 ff.

129 and 442). Perhaps it was in part because the snake was thus the last embodiment of demonic power that women were associated with it, women being always connected with the most ancient religious beliefs. . . . Yet there is no fragment of folklore which remains more obscure. How has it happened that in all parts of the world the snake or his congeners, the lizard and the crocodile, have been credited with some design, sinister or erotic, on women?

Of the wide prevalence of the belief there can be no doubt. Among the Port Lincoln tribe of South Australia a lizard is said to have divided man from woman. . . . In the northern territory of the same colony menstruation is said to be due to a bandicoot scratching the vagina and causing blood to flow (Journal of the Anthropological Institute, p. 177, Nov. 1894). . . . Among the Chiriguanos of Bolivia, on the appearance of menstruation, old women run about with sticks to hunt the snake that had wounded the girl. Frazer (Golden Bough, 1st ed., vol. ii, p. 231), who quotes this example from the *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses*, also refers to a modern Greek folk-tale, according to which a princess at puberty must not let the sun shine upon her, or she would be turned into a lizard. In some parts of Brazil at the coming of puberty a girl must not go into the woods for fear of the amourous attacks of snakes, and so it is also among the Macusi Indians of British Guiana, according to Schomburgk. Among the Basutos of South Africa the young girls must dance around the clay image of a snake. In Polynesian mythology the lizard is a very sacred animal, and legends represent women as often giving birth to lizards (Meyners d'Estrez, *Étude ethnographique sur le lézard chez les peuples malais et polynésiens*, L'Anthropologie, 1892; see also, as regards the lizard in Samoan folk-lore, Globus, vol. 1xxiv, No. 16). In the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde there is a carved wooden figure from New Guinea of a woman into whose vulva a crocodile is inserting his snout, while the museum contains another figure of a snake-like crocodile crawling out of a woman's vulva, and a third figure shows a small round snake with a small head, and closely

resembling a penis, at the mouth of the vagina. All these figures are reproduced by Ploss and Bartels.<sup>4</sup> Even in modern Europe the same ideas prevail. In Portugal, according to Reys, it is believed that during menstruation women are liable to be bitten by lizards, and to guard against this risk they wear drawers during the period. In Germany, again, it was believed, up to the eighteenth century at least, that the hair of a menstruating woman, if burned, would turn into a snake. It may be added that in various parts of the world virgin priestesses are dedicated to a snake-god and are married to the god. . . . Boudin (*Étude Anthropologique: Culte du Serpent*, Paris, 1864, pp. 66-70) brings forward examples of this aspect of snake worship. . . . At Rome, it is interesting to note, the serpent was the symbol of fecundation, and as such often figures at Pompeii as the *genius patrisfamilias*, the generative power of the family (Attilio de Marchi, *Il Culto privato di Roma*, p. 74.) . . . In Rabbinical tradition, also, the serpent is the symbol of sexual desire.

There can be no doubt that—as Ploss and Bartels, from whom some of the examples have been taken, point out—in widely different parts of the world menstruation is believed to have been originally caused by a snake, and that this conception is frequently associated with an erotic and mystic idea. How the connection arose, Ploss and Bartels are unable to say. It can only be suggested that the shape and appearance of the snake, as well as its venomous nature, may have contributed to the mystery everywhere associated with the snake—a mystery itself fortified by the association with women—to build up this world-wide belief regarding the origin of menstruation. . . . It is noteworthy that one of the names for the penis used by the Swahili women of German East Africa, in a kind of private language of their

<sup>4</sup> *Das Weib.*

own, is "the snake" (Zache, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, p. 73, 1899).<sup>64</sup>

I hesitate to assert, but it is possible, that there is an obscene allusion in the woman's speech in Aristophanes's *Lysistrata* (758-9)<sup>65</sup>, where she says that she has been unable to sleep on the Acropolis since 'she saw the snake there. The speeches of the

<sup>64</sup> In this connection it is perhaps proper to call attention to the "snake goddess" and her worship at Cnossus:

In the eastern cist of the "Central Palace Sanctuary" Evans discovered three female figures of faience, one of which he named the "snake goddess" and the other two "the female votaries." The goddess wears a richly embroidered jacket with a laced bodice and a skirt with a short double apron. On her head is a high tiara of purplish brown. About her are coiled three snakes with greenish bodies covered with brown spots. She holds the head of one of these snakes in her hand; its body extends first downward and then upward over her back; its tail appears in the other hand of the goddess. The other two snakes have their bodies so arranged that a part of each snake is coiled in a girdle around the hips of the goddess. The head of one snake appears in this girdle; his body extends upward in front of the figure and his tail coils around the right ear of the goddess. The tail of the third snake is in the girdle; his body also ascends and its upper part is coiled around the tiara of the goddess.

The best preserved of the "female votaries" wears a jacket with a cord-like border and a flounced skirt. In her right hand she holds a small snake, tail upward. The other arm is missing.

Both the goddess and this votary have figures of matronly proportions, their bare breasts being prominent. Of the third figure only the lower part is preserved.

Evidence of a snake goddess cult had already been discovered in Crete prior to Evans's discoveries. At Gournia the remains of a small shrine were found, in which were images of a goddess standing on a base encircled by serpents, and a replica of the same figure was found in the cemetery of Prinias near Gortyna. The physical characteristics of the goddess, the fact that the snakes are coiled around her girdle, the presence of girdles among the votive offerings, the fact that the asp was a symbol of Nekhebet, the Egyptian Eleithyia--all these circumstances lead Evans to the conclusion that the goddess was a goddess of maternity. He calls attention to the fact that religious traditions in classical times pointed to Cnossos as a center, not only of the cult of Rhea, but of Eleithyia. His conclusion is that this figure represents either a special chthonic aspect of the cult of the same mother goddess, whose worship has already been so well illustrated in the palace, or an associated deity having a shrine of her own within the larger sanctuary. See also Reinach in *L'Anthropologie* vol. xv, p. 269 ff.

women in the *Lysistrata* usually have a double meaning. A classical allusion to this sexual, fecundating power of the snake is found in Pausanias (iv, 14, 7)<sup>a</sup>. He writes that Aristomenes, who was honored as a hero by the Messenians, was considered to have had a most remarkable birth, for it was said that a demon or a god in the form of a snake lay with his mother. The Macedonians made similar statements concerning Olympias, as did the Sicyonians also concerning Aristodama, but with the difference that the Messenians did not claim that Aristomenes was the child of Heracles or Zeus, whereas the Macedonians thought that Alexander was the son of Ammon, and the Sicyonians that Aratus was the offspring of Asclepius.

Is this myth of Erichthonius, then, an account of some Eastern sexual worship introduced into Athens? Was it for this reason that we find the sexual idea attributed to old snake Cecrops as the introducer of marriage at Athens? Suidas (s. v. *Kékrop*)<sup>b</sup> is authority for the statement that Cecrops made certain laws, in order to enable a son to know his father and a father his son; and in consequence of his distinction between the two natures of father and mother, he himself was called two-formed. Andrew Lang<sup>a</sup> says that the slight evidence shows that "the traditions of Athens, as preserved by Varro, speak of a time when names were derived from the mother, and when promiscuity prevailed." Farnell<sup>b</sup> has investigated this question and after giving all the evidence for a "matriarchate" of women, shows that the term does not explain the phenomena, which must be otherwise accounted for. His conclusions are that the "Mutterrecht" has not left any clear impress on the classical religion and the phenomena of the relations of the sexes are not necessarily distinctive indications of any special family organization. I can only suggest that the Eastern divinities were often divinities of the sexual relations. For examples we need only recall Astarte, Cybele, Artemis of Ephesus, and the Juno who is shown

<sup>a</sup> Custom and Myth, p. 273.

<sup>b</sup> Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, Band vii, pp. 70-94.

in Vergil's Aeneid as the goddess of Phoenician Carthage—Juno Pronuba, the Latin form of Hera Eileithyia.

Fulgentius (*Mythologiae*, ii, 14)<sup>19</sup>, in his interpretation of the myth as one of morals, may have hit upon a grain of truth. He makes the following equations; Vulcan = furor, passion; Minerva = sapientia, wisdom; Erichthonius = invidia, envy; the chest = cor, the heart; the snake = pernicies, ruin; Pandrosus = benignitas, and Aglaurus = tristitiae oblivio. Lactantius (*Divinae Institutiones*, i, 17)<sup>20</sup> thinks that the myth is an evidence of incestuous lust.

Erichthonius was said to have invented *quadrigae* and to have instituted the festival of the Panathenaea at Athens; this is on the authority of Hellanicus, Androton, and Ister (*Harpocration*, s. v. Ηεραθήναια<sup>21</sup>; Photius, *Lex.* s. v. Ηεραθήναια<sup>22</sup>). The story means, that, as the old fish-tailed Poseidon, he was god of horses, and that, in his reconciliation with Athena, he introduced them from the East into Athens. The statement was originally made by Mommsen (*Heortologie*, p. 37) that the festival of the Panathenaea was, in its earliest form and meaning, a funeral ceremony held in honor of the dead corn-god, Erichthonius. Farnell (*Cults of the Greek States*, vol. i, p. 295) has shown that the sole evidence for believing the festival to have been originally a period of mourning rests on a passage in Lucian (*Nigrinus* 53)<sup>23</sup>, who records that the men, during the festival, must not wear garments dyed in colors, but Farnell thinks that it is not necessary to interpret the evidence as pointing to a festival of that character. Mommsen has now abandoned this view and thinks that the festival of the Panathenaea was instituted in honor of the birth of Erichthonius, who was protected by Athena. Erichthonius was in the earth and, like a human child, did not come to birth until after nine months, *i. e.*, he remained in the womb of Earth from the month Pyanepsion to Hecatombaion.

In the horse racing at the Panathenaea, the chief event was the performance of the so-called *ἀποβάτης*, which was said to have been instituted by Erichthonius. In this event, hoplites fully armed, leaped from their chariots and then back again, the

chariot-driver who accompanied them remaining the while in the chariot. Harpocration (s. v. *ἀροβάτης*)<sup>84</sup> speaks of this game, and Eratosthenes (Catasterismi, 13)<sup>85</sup>, in connection with a description of Erichthonius's birth, gives an account of it, and says that Erichthonius introduced it along with the Panathenaea. Aristides (Panathenaicus, 107)<sup>86</sup> makes mention of Erichthonius as a finished horseman, and the scholiast on the passage adds that he was represented in a painting on the Acropolis as driving a chariot behind Athena, he being the first to do this, having received the gift from Athena, "since he seemed to be a sort of son of hers." Themistius (Oratio, 27, 337a)<sup>87</sup> confounds the names, as do others, and ascribes to Erechtheus the first yoking of horses to a chariot.

Hyginus (Astronomica, ii, 13)<sup>88</sup> says that Jupiter placed Erichthonius among the stars. We find this Charioteer (Heniochus) among the northern constellations, generally designated by its Latin name Auriga. It is generally known that the greater part of early astrophysical knowledge originated with the peoples of the Euphrates valley. It seems that this constellation Heniochus, Erichthonius, Auriga, or The Charioteer, is of Eastern origin, and the charioteer was Poseidon himself, god of the sea and of horses.<sup>89</sup> His special animals, the horse (Pegasus) and the dolphin (Delphinus), are placed in the heavens side by side, at some little distance from him. All these constellations are of ancient standing, and are in the list of the forty-eight given by Claudius Ptolemaeus.

In closing this treatment of Erichthonius, it may be said that the sum of the evidence shows decidedly that some Eastern or

<sup>84</sup> R. Brown, Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology, p. 170. Also Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1897, p. 214: The Origin of the Ancient Northern Constellation-figures. The Charioteer (Heniochos) and his car, the Babylonian constellation *Narkabtu* (the Chariot), came from the Semitic East. In the Babylonian sphere *Narkabtu* was placed just over *Taurus*, where *Auriga* now is;  $\beta$  *Tauri* was called "the northern light of the Chariot," and Ptolemy styles it, "The one at the tip of the northern horn (of the bull), the same (which) is in the right foot of the Charioteer."

Semitic influence had been brought to bear on his character. This influence had probably been introduced by Phoenician traders, sailing about the Mediterranean Sea in pre-historic times. We can carry Erichthonius no further back in Semitic mythology, and we can only say that he was a form of Poseidon, who was probably the Euphratean Ea.

The important part of this myth in regard to the three sisters is the ritual which we find surviving in historical times. This ritual must be treated separately along with the character of each sister.

The name of the first sister is spelled either Agraulus or Aglaurus, but the latter form seems to be the better substantiated, for that only is found in inscriptions. The common explanation of the two forms, given by Preller, is that there is merely a confusion and metathesis of the liquids. Farnell (*Cults of the Greek States*, i, p. 289, N.a) says that both names could refer equally well to a goddess or nymph of vegetation; but we are not certain that Aglaurus was originally a nymph of vegetation. It seems probable that the form Agraulus, for the daughter and wife of Cecrops, was the earlier, for we may assume that the name of the deme Agryle probably came from the same source, and its spelling does not vary. Agryle was a deme southeast of the city, near the stadium, and belonged to the tribe of Erechtheis<sup>a</sup>, an important point when we consider the relations between Aglaurus and Erechtheus-Erichthonius. Aglaurus was a chthonian divinity, and it would be appropriate for her to have a place named from her in that part of Athens which was intimately connected with the growth and fostering of young things, both vegetable and animal, as the cults of Ge-Themis and Eileithyia at Agrae, of Aphrodite "in the Gardens", and of Artemis Agrotera at Agrae so abundantly testify. A Greek would connect

<sup>a</sup> Stephanus Byzantius, s. v., 'Αγραυλή'. The deme was transferred to the newly-formed tribe of Antigonis, c. 307 B.C.

the name of the divinity with *ἀγρανλος*, "dwelling in the fields," or when it was observed that Aglaurus was not exclusively agricultural, he might connect it with *ἀγλαός*, "bright", "shining". The latter form Aglaurus became stereotyped and was official<sup>a</sup>.

We have mentioned that Aglaurus was sometimes an agricultural divinity at Athens, but at Salamis in Cyprus we find that she was worshipped along with Athena and Diomedes, and that human sacrifices were made to her down to the time of Seleucus<sup>b</sup>. Does this Aglaurus of Cyprus resemble the Aglaurus of Athens? Yes, for at Athens Ares represents the Diomedes of Cyprus, and Ares was at one time the husband of Aglaurus. Furthermore, human sacrifice is typified aetiologicaly in the report that Aglaurus threw herself down from the Athenian Acropolis, or sacrificed herself for her country during a long war<sup>c</sup>. The scholiast on Aristides (Panathenaicus 119) says that, on the death of Aglaurus, Herse and Pandrosus also killed themselves. Miss Harrison<sup>d</sup> thinks that the faithless sisters became mixed up in legend with three devoted sisters, *i. e.*, the daughters of Cecrops with the daughters of Erechtheus.

Ares was, under some conditions, god of the underworld; he was god of Thebes—Nergal, war-god, originally god of death and the underworld—husband of Aglaurus, and gave a name to the hill of the Semnae, the Areopagus (Suidas, s. v. *Ἄρεος πάγος*)<sup>e</sup>. The scholiast on Sophocles (Antigone 126) says that the wife of Ares was the Tilphossa Erinys, to whom the Cadmus snake was born. Aglaurus it is who is the envious sister; she has the power to petrify, as is later expressed by action on herself (Ovid, Met., ii, 827)<sup>f</sup>. Snakes, then, and Aglaurus seem to be-

<sup>a</sup> Hesychius, s. v. *ἀγρανλοι*, *ἀγρανλοι*, *ἀγρανλον*, *ἀγρανλῷ*<sup>99</sup>; also *Ἄγρανλης νύμφη* (Porphyrius, de Abstinentia, 2, 54)<sup>100</sup>, and *Ἄγρανλδες παρθένοι* (Euripides, Ion, 23)<sup>2</sup>. The name is applied to Demeter, C.I.A., iii, 372<sup>91</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> C.I.G., 7716, 7718<sup>92</sup>. C.I.A., iii, 372<sup>91</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Porphyrius, de Abstinentia, 2, 54<sup>100</sup>; Eusebius, Praeparatio evangelica, 4, 16<sup>101</sup>; de Laude Constantini, 13, p. 646b<sup>104</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Miss Harrison, Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1891, p. 354. Philochorus in the Scholion on Demosthenes, xix, 438, 17 (fr. 14 M)<sup>93</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Mythology and Monuments, p. ix.

long together. This particular snake is not Greek ; Aglaurus brought it. Aglaurus, then, is not a native Athenian in this aspect, but is un-Greek. Robert Brown<sup>a</sup> asserts, on his own authority, that there is no real evidence that human sacrifices were ever offered by any archaic Greeks who had been entirely untouched by Semitic influence. It may be impossible to prove that this assumption is literally true, but until a well authenticated case is found to show the contrary, it may be held. Let us examine the accounts of the sacrifice in Cyprus. The accounts of Porphyrius and Eusebius differ but little ; they write as follows<sup>b</sup> : "In the present Salamis, which was formerly called Coronea, in the month styled Aphrodisius by the Cypriots, a man was sacrificed to Aglaurus, the daughter of Cecrops and the nymph Aglauris. And this custom obtained until the time of Diomedes ; then it was changed so that the man was sacrificed to Diomedes, and this took place at a sanctuary containing a temple of Athena and of Aglaurus and of Diomedes. The man chosen for sacrifice was driven three times round an altar by the young men ; then the priest struck him with a spear in the stomach, and his entire body was consumed by fire along with an offering of grain. Diphilus, the king of Cyprus, abolished this custom about the time of Seleucus, the theologian. A bull, instead of a man, was afterwards offered in sacrifice to the spirit or demon." The cult-ritual of the island of Cyprus was always affected by that of near-by Asia, and this strange custom of human sacrifice to Aglaurus seems to have come from the same source. The case of the "pharmakos" at Athens has been regarded as a case of human sacrifice to a god, but Miss Harrison in her *Prolegomena* refutes this ; on p. 103 she writes : "The pharmakos was not a sacrifice in the sense of an offering *made to appease an angry god*. . . . It was, as ancient authors repeatedly insist, a *καθαρμός*, a purification." On p. 108 again : "The leading out of the pharmakos is then a purely magical ceremony based on

<sup>a</sup> Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology, p. 147.

<sup>b</sup> Porphyrius, *de Abstinentia*, ii, 54<sup>90</sup> ; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, iv, 16, 2 (155c)<sup>91</sup> ; also Eusebius, *de Laude Constantini*, 13, p. 646b<sup>92</sup>.

ignorance and fear ; it is not a human sacrifice to Apollo or to any other divinity or even ghost ; it is a ceremony of physical expulsion."

Then, the Aglaurus of Cyprus, daughter of Cecrops, and the Aglaurus of Athens have been affected by Eastern influence along with Cecrops, Erichthonius, Erechtheus, and Poseidon. Aglaurus's husband was Ares, who in the East was Nergal-meleh (Moloch). Ares's wife, again, was the Tilphossa Eriny, mother of the Cadmus snake.

Pausanias (i, 38, 3)<sup>35</sup>, Hesychius<sup>36</sup>, and Suidas<sup>37</sup> (s. v. Κύρπες) all say that the tribe father of the Eleusinian Ceryces was a son of Hermes and Aglaurus ; according to others<sup>a</sup> he was a son of Hermes and Pandrosus, or son of Eumolpus<sup>b</sup>. This relation to Eleusis is probably of Eastern origin, since Eleusis was the seat of many foreign importations in religion, especially from Egypt<sup>c</sup>. In any case, as we have previously seen, these Eleusinian genealogies were later taken over to Athens.

The ritual of Aglaurus, observed at Athens, confirms the sinister character of this divinity. The festival with which she was connected was the Plynteria, which was observed in the latter part of Thargelion, *i. e.*, about the middle of May. The exact date of the festival is in dispute<sup>d</sup> : Plutarch (Aeibiades, 34)<sup>38</sup> puts it on the twenty-fifth of the month, while Photius (Lex. 127)<sup>39</sup> dates it on the twenty-ninth. The principal day, the ἀποφράσ, seems to have been on the twenty-fifth of the month. The ritual of the occasion was mournful in character, and was said to be so in remembrance of Aglaurus and her death (Bekker Anecdota Graeca, i, 270<sup>40</sup> ; Hesychius, s. v. Πλευτήρα<sup>41</sup>). The day was unlucky in all senses ; the temple of Athena, into whose

<sup>a</sup> Scholion on Il. A, 334<sup>32</sup> ; Pollux, 8, 103<sup>33</sup> ; Scholion on Aeschines, i, 20<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Pollux, 8, 103<sup>35</sup> ; Audron, on Sophocles, Oedip. Col., 1053<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> See A Coptic Spell of the Second Century by F. Legge in Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch., May, 1897, for Hecate ; R. B. Richardson, A Trace of Egypt in Eleusis, Am. Jour. Arch., vol. ii, 1898 ; also the foreign cult of Dionysus-Zagreus at Eleusis.

<sup>d</sup> Mommsen, Feste der Stadt Athen in Altertum, p. 491 ff.

cult Aglaurus had been absorbed, was closed ; the clothing was taken from the image of Athena and the statue was muffled up. It was on this day that Alcibiades returned to Athens, sailing into the Piraeus (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i, 4, 12)<sup>102</sup>, and this was considered unpropitious both for him and for the city : “ For no one of the Athenians would dare to undertake any important work on this day.” Mommsen (l. c., p. 494) and Miss Harrison<sup>a</sup> think that the statue of the goddess was taken to the shore and must have been standing near the point where Alcibiades landed, so that it was seen by him. The only reasons that they have for this belief is the evidence of an inscription (C. I. A., ii, 469)<sup>103</sup>, which records that the young men took the image of Pallas down to Phalerum and escorted it back again with torches and in pomp. There is no reference to the Plynteria, and the evidence for that festival does not show that the statue was taken to the shore, but only that the clothing, the *πέπλος*, was washed in the sea<sup>b</sup>. It was a sort of house-cleaning occasion, and Athena was not at home for several days, beginning with the festival of the Callynteria, or sweeping day, on the nineteenth of Thargelion and extending to the twenty-fifth. It has been pointed out by Farnell (Cults of the Greek States, vol. i, p. 261-2) that the procession of the ephebi to the coast and their subsequent return at night were a part of the cult of Athena *ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ*, and that the statue was the one from the Attic court *ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ*. The statue in this instance was always called *ἡ Παλλάς*, both in the Attic inscriptions and by Suidas. The ceremony of muffling up the image was done by two maidens called Lourides or Praxiergidae<sup>c</sup> ; from the first of these two names we may conclude that these maidens also did the washing. The sacred ceremony of washing the soiled clothes itself was in hands of the *κατανίπτρης*

<sup>a</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1891, p. 353. Also *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 114-119.

<sup>b</sup> Of course, the gold and ivory statue in the Parthenon by Phidias could not be taken ; the ceremony would belong to some more ancient image, probably the xoanon (Suidas, 4, p. 1273, 7)<sup>104</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Photius, *Lex.*, p. 231, 11<sup>105</sup> ; Hesychius, s. v. *Πραξιεργίδας*<sup>106</sup>.

(*Etymologicum Magnum*, s. v.)<sup>107</sup>. The mysteries, mentioned by Plutarch (*Alcibiades*, 34)<sup>108</sup>, were in the charge of the Praxiergidae. This cult of Aglaurus, according to Toepffer (s. v. *Aglaurus*, *Pauly-Wissowa*), formed an hereditary dignity in the family of the Praxiergidae. The priestess of Aglaurus, Phidostrate, mentioned in C.I.A., ii, 1369<sup>109</sup>, must have belonged to this family, which is noted in another inscription ('Εφημερίς Αρχαιολογική, 1883, 141)<sup>109</sup>.

Hesychius, (s. v. 'Ηγητηρία')<sup>110</sup> tells of a cake of dried figs, that was carried in the procession, during the celebration of the Plynteria. Why, cannot be affirmed, unless it was done as a combined agricultural and purifying symbol. Miss Harrison in her *Prolegomena* thinks that the taking of purgative herbs or drugs was "rather a means of ejecting the bad spirits than to obtain inspiration from the good. Fasting is a substantial safeguard, but purgation more drastically effective (p. 39)." Again at page 116, she writes concerning the Hegeteria: "Hesychius is at no loss to account for the strange name. Figs were the first cultivated fruit of which man partook; the cake of figs is called Hegeteria because it 'led the way' in the matter of diet. We may perhaps be allowed to suggest a possible alternative. May not the fig-cake be connected with the root of ἄγος rather than ἄγω? Figs were used in purification. Is not the Hegeteria the fig-cake of purification?" An impossible vagary!

Just what part Aglaurus originally had in this ceremony is not known; Mommsen (*Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 500-501) is entirely uncertain about it. Farnell (*Cults of the Greek States*, i, p. 262) thinks that the ceremony may have been merely a part of a fetish ritual in which the fetish object is treated as a living person; but he adds: "it was almost certain to acquire a moral significance and Artemidorus explains all such rites as necessitated by human sin, which pollutes the temples or the images." As a divinity of the underworld, Aglaurus had to be propitiated by expiatory, mournful ceremonies. She was almost one of the Eumenides and, so far as we can see, originally had no agricultural significance at all, as has been so often supposed.

Aglaurus had a precinct just north of the Acropolis, where the Persians ascended unexpectedly, for here the rocks were precipitous (Herodotus, viii, 53)<sup>111</sup>. Frazer and Wachsmuth<sup>a</sup> give all the evidence as to the location of this precinct, and place it near a natural cleft or stair-case in the rock of the Acropolis on the north side, not far east of the cave of Pan. According to Wachsmuth, the stairs from Grotto No. 56 (on Michaelis's plan of the Acropolis given in the second edition of Jahn's *Pausanias*) were constructed after the Persian wars, in order to connect with the Aglaureum. The sanctuary is mentioned by Polyaenus (i, 21, 2)<sup>112</sup> as the place to which Pisistratus had the arms of the Athenians carried after they had stacked them in the Anaceum.

It was in the sanctuary of this dread goddess that the Athenian ephebi took the oath of allegiance to the state<sup>b</sup>. They swore by Agraulus (*sic*), Enyalius, Ares, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo, and Hegemone (Pollux, viii, 105)<sup>113</sup>. The names in the oath are of interest; Enyalius and Ares are the same, and represent the husband of Aglaurus; Thallo, Auxo, and Hegemone form a triad like our three sisters; as will be seen later, Thallo may be identified with Pandrosus, and Auxo with Herse; Hegemone is, of course, Artemis. In *Mythology and Monuments* (p. 164), Miss Harrison thought that this oath was sworn to in the name of Aglaurus, merely because of her association with Athena; but in her later article in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1891), she has the right idea that Aglaurus was a goddess of sinister character and was associated with Ares, who came next in the list of divinities.

There are representations (see Fig. 5) of the ceremony on vase-paintings, shown in *Annali dell' Instituto*, xi (1868), pp. 264-267 with tavole d'aggregazione, H. I. There seems to have been a priestess of the sanctuary (C. I. A., ii, 1369)<sup>114</sup>, and also Demeter Curotrophus, "the nursing-mother," seems to have had

<sup>a</sup> Frazer, *Commentary on Pausanias*, vol. ii, p. 167; Wachsmuth, s. v. Aglaurus in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopaedie*.

<sup>b</sup> Plutarch *Alcibiades* 15<sup>115</sup>; Demosthenes xix, 303<sup>116</sup>; Lycurgus contra Leocratem 76<sup>115</sup>; Scholiou on Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 533<sup>116</sup>; Hesychius, s. v. *Αγλαυπος*<sup>117</sup>.

at least an altar in the precinct, whose priest or priestess had a special seat in the theatre of Dionysus (C. I. A., iii, 372)<sup>31</sup>.

Aglaurus herself is represented on a painted amphora (see Fig. 6), which shows Boreas carrying off Oreithyia in the presence of Herse, Pandrosus, Aglaurus, Erechtheus, and Cecrops (de Witte, *Vases de l'Étrurie*, p. 58, No. 105).<sup>32</sup>

Again Aglaurus is shown on an Attic red-figure vase from Corneto (see Fig. 4), showing the birth of Erichthonius (p. 16 of this text; also Furtwängler, *Vasen im Antiquarium zu Berlin*, 2, No. 2537; *Monumenti dell' Instituto*, x, Taf. 30; Roscher, *Lexicon*, s. v. *Erichthonius*, p. 1305).

A third representation (see Fig. 7) is found on a fragment of a red-figure vase showing a woman with the inscription, *Ἀγλαυρος* (Welcker, *Bullettino dell' Instituto Arch. Rom.*, 1834, p. 139 and 1836, p. 137).

A fourth picture (see Fig. 8) is given on a vase from Camirus in the British Museum (*Annali dell' Instituto*, 1879, tavola d'aggregazione F, Sp. 1307; also Roscher's *Lexicon*, vol. i, p. 1307, s. v., *Erichthonius*).

The fifth (see Fig. 9) is on a vase by Brygus, where two sisters are shown, followed by a snake (C. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 88).

It seems quite probable, and the supposition is supported by a number of authorities, that a sixth representation (see Fig. 10) may be found in one of the three figures in the east gable of the Parthenon, commonly known as "The Three Fates," and now resting in the British Museum (Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i, 77 ff.).

As seventh (see Fig. 11) we may mention an identification of the *Agraulidae* made by F. Hauser on a neo-Attic relief, which he reconstructed from fragments found in the Vatican, the Uffizi, and at Munich, although all originally came from the Villa Palombara, (*Jahrbuch des Oesterreichischen Archaeologischen Instituts*, vi, 1903, pp. 79-107). Perhaps we may also identify the *Agraulidae* on numerous Attic votive reliefs dedicated to Pan (Kekulé, *Theseion*, p. 80, Nr. 192; Furtwängler, *Athenische Mittheilungen*, iii, 200).

The common facts concerning Pandrosus are similar to those concerning Aglaurus and have been stated already. She also was spoken of as the wife of Hermes along with Aglaurus and Herse, showing how confused the myth became. She was the faithful sister *par excellence* in the story of the chest.

The evidence of the inscriptions and of ancient writers<sup>a</sup> assigns the festival of the Arrephoria to Pandrosus, along with Athena Polias. Pausanias gives his account of the ceremony just after his visit to the sanctuary of Pandrosus, and so connects the two things in thought. His is the fullest account, and is as follows : " Not far from the temple of Athena Polias live two maidens, whom the Athenians call Arrephoroi. They dwell for a certain time near the goddess, but at the time of the festival they act by night as follows. They bear upon their heads what the priestess of Athena gives them to carry ; the giver does not know the nature of what she gives, nor do they who bear it understand. There is a precinct in the city not far from that of Aphrodite "in the Gardens", and a natural underground passage leads down into this precinct. By this the maidens go down from the Acropolis ; they leave below what they have been carrying, and taking something else they bring it back, this also being wrapped up. These maidens are then dismissed, and two others are brought up into the Acropolis in their place."

These maidens are generally called Arrephoroi, but Hesychius (s. v. Ἐρρηφόροι)<sup>125</sup> and Moeris (s. v. Ἐρρηφόροι)<sup>126</sup> call them Errephoroi, a name which is regularly supported by the evidence of the inscriptions, which use the verb ἔρρηφορεῖν many times and the noun ἔρρηφόρος once (C.I.A., iii, 902)<sup>127</sup> ; whereas ἀρρηφορεῖν occurs but twice (C.I.A., ii, 453b, p. 418<sup>128</sup> ; C.I.A., iii, 822a, p. 505)<sup>129</sup>. The etymology of the name is usually given by the ancients as from ἀρρητα + φορεῖν, " to carry unspeakable or sacred things." This was so tempting that the form ἀρρηφορεῖν ousted the original form ἔρρηφορεῖν. It is probably on account of the form Ἐρρηφορία or Ἐρρηφορία that the scholiast on Aristophanes

<sup>a</sup> Athenagoras, Legatio pro Christianis 1<sup>27</sup> ; Pausanias i, 27, 4<sup>119</sup> ; C. I. A., ii, 1379<sup>120</sup>, 1383<sup>121</sup>, 1385<sup>122</sup>, 1390<sup>123</sup> ; C. I. A., iii, 887<sup>124</sup>.

(*Lysistrata*, 642)<sup>130</sup>, and Suidas (s. v. Ἀρρηφορία)<sup>131</sup>, as well as Hesychius<sup>125</sup> and Moeris<sup>126</sup>, think that the festival was performed in honor of Herse.

The accounts of writers other than Pausanias may be summarized as follows<sup>132</sup>: The number of maidens was four: they were of noble birth, between the ages of seven and eleven, and were chosen by the king archon. They dressed in white, and the ornaments of gold which they wore became sacred. They had a special kind of cakes, which were made for them and were called “*anastatoi*” (*Athenaeus*, 114 A)<sup>133</sup>. It was the duty of *two* of the maidens to begin the weaving of the new peplos for Athena. The numerous inscribed bases for statues found on the Acropolis point to the custom of setting up images of the maidens who acted as Arrephoroi, by their fathers, mothers, or brothers.

The ceremony of the Arrephoria was performed in the month of Skirophorion (*Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 149, s. v. ἀρρηφόροι)<sup>134</sup>, and Mommsen (*Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 509) puts it on the twelfth day.

Miss Harrison (*Mythology and Monuments*, xxxiii, fl.) thinks, with much probability, that this ceremony was the cause of the myth about Erichthonius. The myth of the concealment of Erichthonius in the chest arose from the concealment of something in a box which the maidens were forbidden to open.

The form of the name Ἐρσηφορία has given rise to the theory that the maidens were literally “dew-carriers”, since Hesychius tells us that ἐρση means “dew”, and the name Pandrosus, the sister of Herse, may be etymologized as meaning “all-dewy”. Preller (i, 173), following Moeris (s. v. ἐρρηφόροι)<sup>126</sup>, believes that the maidens were really “dew-carriers”, Thauträgerinnen, without a doubt, and that the ceremony typified the refreshing quality of the night dews upon the crops. There is no reason why such a dew-carrying ceremony should be so strictly secret, and besides that, if the maidens carried dew, they would

<sup>130</sup> Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 641 fl.<sup>132</sup> with Scholia<sup>130</sup>; Harpocration, s. v. ἀρρηφορεῖν<sup>132</sup>; Hesychius, s. v. ἀρρηφορία<sup>131</sup>, ἐρρηφόροι<sup>125</sup>; Suidas, s. vv. ἀρρηνοφορεῖν<sup>135</sup>, ἀρρηφορία<sup>131</sup> and ἐπιώφατο<sup>130</sup>; *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 149, s. v. ἀρρηφόροι<sup>137</sup> and ἀρρηφορεῖν<sup>138</sup>; Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, pp. 202, 446, s. v. ἀρρηφορεῖν<sup>139</sup>; Pollux, x, 191<sup>140</sup>.

know that fact. In such a childish explanation the ceremony loses all its hidden meaning. The two words *δρόσος* and *ἔρση* may also mean "young things" or "young animals". It was from this meaning that Apollo derived his title of "Hersos", found inscribed in the cave at Vari (C. I. A., i, 430)<sup>142</sup>. Aeschylus in the Agamemnon (147)<sup>143</sup> writes that Artemis is the fair goddess who favors the *δρόσοι* of creatures who are fierce; the context shows that these *δρόσοι* must be sucklings (*Etymologicum Magnum*, s. v. "Ἐρση", p. 377, 38)<sup>144</sup>.

Miss Harrison (l. c., p. xxxv) clearly suggests that the objects carried by the maidens in the eistae were images (*πλάσματα*)<sup>145</sup> of young things, and probably figures of a snake and a child. The myth of Erichthonius and the three sisters was invented so that the maidens would not open the boxes. It is to be noticed that the maidens, the Arrephoroi, lived in the precinct of the faithful sister, Pandrosus; Aglaurus had her precinct outside the *Acropolis*. Miss Harrison (Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 121, Note.), commenting upon a passage in the Scholia of Lucian (Dialogi Meretricii, ii, 1)<sup>146</sup>, which contains an account of the Thesmophoria, has changed her opinion about the *πλάσματα* carried in the boxes, and she now interprets them as "φάλλοι. Septuagint, Is. iii, 17. The Arrephoroi are not, as I previously (Mythology and Monuments Ancient Athens, p. xxxiv) suggested, *Hersephoroi*, Carriers of Young Things."

We have seen that there was a sexual idea present in the introduction of the form of the snake. Clement of Alexandria (Protrepticus 14, 15)<sup>147</sup> says that the women celebrated the Thesmophoria, the Skirophoria, and the Arrephoria, and these festivals were the same in kind. We have accounts of the Thesmophoria. The most complete is that given by the scholiast on Lucian (l. c.)<sup>148</sup>. A summary of it, containing all the important phrases, is as follows: The ceremony was performed by the women alone. In memory of Eubouleus and his swine, which

<sup>a</sup> Miss Harrison, Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens, p. xxxiv.

<sup>b</sup> I think that we may emend the *pigmenta* of Lactantius Placidus (Narrationes fabularum, ii, 12)<sup>149</sup> to *figmenta*.

were swallowed up when Pluto stole away Persephone, pigs were cast into certain places called "megara", and when the flesh had decayed, it was brought forth by women called "drawers", who had undergone ceremonial purification for three days. It was believed that if some of this flesh was taken and sown with the grain the crop would be good. It was also said that there were snakes in these "megara", and that when the "drawers" descended to bring up the flesh, a noise was made to drive the snakes away. The same feast was called the Arretophoria, "and the same ceremonial is used to produce the fruit of the earth and the offspring of men." Mysterious sacred objects, made from wheaten dough in the shapes of snakes and men (*φάλλοι*), were also placed in the chasms at the time of the festival, along with shoots of the pine tree. These shoots and the pigs were chosen as symbols of fertility, and typified the production of fruit and the procreation of children.

Frazer<sup>a</sup> thinks that the corn-spirit was early conceived of in the form of a pig, which later became anthropomorphic and was called Demeter and Persephone. There was a legend that in searching for her lost daughter, Demeter found Persephone's foot-prints obliterated by the tracks of pigs. These tracks, in the early stage of the story, were those of the goddesses themselves. Farnell gives his conclusions in regard to the Thesmophoria as follows:<sup>b</sup> "My conclusions are that this ritual has no relation to any form of marriage at all, but was a form of magic to secure fertility, and that the women had the prerogative because they were more potent in this form of magic than the men, the ideas of the fertility of the field and the fertility of the womb being necessarily conjoined in this as in many agrarian ceremonies." Farnell will treat the Thesmophoria in the third volume of his *Cults of the Greek States*.

The symbols of fructification in the Thesmophoria were understood by the grown-up women who used them as typifying the

<sup>a</sup> Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 2nd ed., ii, 299-303, where analogies among different peoples are given.

<sup>b</sup> *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1904 (vii, p. 80).

power "both to produce the fruit of the earth and the offspring of men." In the Arrephoria, however, these male attributes of fructification were kept a secret from the maidens, and could not be revealed to them, until they had been introduced to the spirits of birth and life. Miss Harrison thinks it probable that, from the Acropolis, the maidens went down to the sanctuary of Eileithyia, "goddess of child-birth," which sanctuary was near that of Aphrodite "in the Gardens" (C. I. A., iii, 318, *Ἐρσηφόροις β. Εἰλειθυίᾳ[ς] ἐν Ἀγραις.*). This goddess must be propitiated by the young girl; it is not known why *all* Athenian maidens were not Arrephoroi, but it is known that here the maiden is initiated before she is allowed to understand the ritual, just as is the case in initiation into any real religion. This ceremony of the Arrephoria, we are told, had something to do with the fertility of the fields and the productivity of women, being allied to the Thesmophoria in that respect. Toepffer writes (Attische Genealogie, p. 121); "Mir scheint der innere Zusammenhang zwischen den bei Pausanias geflissentlich verdunkelten Arrephorien-Gebräuchen und den erst durch Rohde genauer bekannt gewordenen, der Demeter und ihrer Tochter zu Ehren begangenen Ceremonien, die den Namen *Ἄρρητοφόρια* führten, unverkennbar."

Let us look for parallels of this relation between women and the crops of the fields. Frazer (Commentary on Pausanias, ii, p. 168) records that a story closely resembling this of the Arrephoria is told in Java<sup>a</sup>, but he gives none of the details. Among the ancient writers there are several references to the peculiar relations supposed to exist between women and the crops of the field. Pliny (Nat. Hist., xxviii, 77 and 78)<sup>147</sup> says, "Hailstorms, whirlwinds, and lightnings are driven away by a woman uncovered at the time of her monthly periods. . . . . If women, stripped naked at the time of their menses, walk around a field of grain, the caterpillars, beetles, and other vermin will fall off the ears. Metrodorus Scepsensis reports that in Cappadocia, on account of the great number of insects, the women go through

<sup>a</sup> *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsh Indië*, 14de Jaargang (1852). Tweede Dell. p. 396.

the cultivated fields with their clothing raised to their waists. In other places it is customary for them to go with bare feet, hair in disorder and girdles loosened."<sup>148</sup> Pliny in another place (xvii, 266)<sup>149</sup> tells that women during their monthly flow, with naked feet and loosened girdles, could protect an orchard from caterpillars by walking around each tree. Havelock Ellis<sup>a</sup> reports on the authority of Bastanzi that this is believed and acted upon in Italy to-day.

Aelian (de Natura Animalium, vi, 36)<sup>150</sup> records that if a woman during her monthly purgation walked through a garden, the caterpillars would be destroyed. Columella (De Re Rustica, x, 357-362<sup>151</sup>, and xi, 3, 64) tells of this same remedy and gives it on the authority of Democritus, who wrote a treatise *πεπιδυτικαθῶν*. Palladius (De Re Rustica, i, 35, 3)<sup>152</sup> gives his testimony also to this custom.

Longfellow in his poem of Hiawatha (xiii) tells the Indian legend of how Minnehaha blessed the corn-fields at the direction of her husband :

" You shall bless to-night the corn-fields,  
 Draw a magic circle round them,  
 To protect them from destruction,  
 Blast of mildew, blight of insect,  
*Wagamin*, the thief of corn-fields,  
*Paimosaid*, who steals the maize-ear.  
 In the night when all is silence,  
 In the night, when all is darkness,  
 When the Spirit of Sleep, *Nepahwin*,  
 Shuts the doors of all the wigwams,  
 So that not an ear can hear you,  
 So that not an eye can see you,  
 Rise up from your bed in silence,  
 Lay aside your garments wholly,  
 Walk around the fields you planted,

<sup>a</sup> Studies in the Psychology of Sex, Appendix A, Menstruation and the Position of Women, p. 212-213.

Round the borders of the corn-fields,  
Covered by your tresses only,  
Robed with darkness as a garment.  
Thus the fields shall be more fruitful,  
And the passing of your footsteps  
Draw a magic circle round them,  
So that neither blight nor mildew,  
Neither burrowing worm nor insect,  
Shall pass o'er the magic circle,  
Not the dragon-fly, *Kwo-ne-she*,  
Not the spider, *Subbekashe*,  
Nor the grasshopper, *Pah-puk-keena*,  
Nor the mighty caterpillar,  
*Way-muk-kwana* with the bearskin,  
King of all the caterpillars."

The original of this legend is recorded in Schoolcraft's Oneota (p. 83). I quote his account of the custom also: "A singular proof of this belief, in both sexes, of the mysterious influence of the steps of a woman on the vegetable and insect creation is found in an ancient custom, which was related to me, respecting corn-planting. It was the practice of the hunter's wife, when the field of corn had been planted, to choose the first dark night or overclouded evening to perform a secret circuit, *sans habillement*, around the field. For this purpose she slipped out of the lodge in the evening, unobserved, to some obscure nook, where she completely disrobed. Then, taking her matchecota, or principal garment, in one hand, she dragged it around the field. This was thought to insure a prolific crop, and to prevent the assaults of insects and worms upon the grain. It was supposed they could not cross the charmed line."

This version combines all the essential features of our myth, whose origin we must seek in a primitive ceremony intended to be magical in its effect, in which the fertility of woman acts favorably upon the crops of the fields—*similia similibus curantur*.

I think that it has not been noticed that one of Horace's Odes (iii, 23), addressed to a country maiden, Phidyle, may have some

bearing on this question. Certain ceremonies are mentioned, the object of which is to obtain fruitful crops, and although no walking at night is spoken of, still the dark of the moon is mentioned; but all the details are not to be expected in Horace's poem, which is not primarily an account of the ceremony. This "dark of the moon" superstition needs no discussion here; almost everyone can recall some modern case of it. It is interesting to notice that a pig is to be sacrificed; this reminds one of the Thesmophoria.

Caelo supinas si tuleris manus  
Nascente luna, rustica Phidyle,  
Si ture placaris et horna  
Fruge Lares avidaque porca :  
  
Nec pestilentem sentiet Africum  
Fecunda vitis nec sterilem seges  
Robiginem aut dulees alumni  
Pomifero grave tempus anni.

I may even dare to bring forward as a case in point the tale of the Lady Godiva or Godgifu, a Saxon lady of Coventry, England, who rode completely naked through the town as an act of devotion to her people, so that they might be freed from the burdens which had been imposed by her husband, Leofric, Earl of Mercia. This is an historical instance, and was commemorated by a fair, which has been held at intervals ever since, but I believe that back of this historical event there was a folk-belief in this peculiar efficacy of a naked woman. There is a full discussion of this tale in Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, but it is best known from Tennyson's poem, *Godiva*.

These scattered instances, which I have enumerated from Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, England, and North America, will serve to show how widely spread is this belief, which I think is also the root idea of the Athenian Arrephoria<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> It may be objected that the age of the maiden Arrephoroi (7-11) is previous to womanhood or the appearance of the menses, but the Arrephoria is to be regarded as a sort of prelude to the Thesmophoria; the effects are similar.

The Arrephoroi seem to have taken part in the minor festival of the Chalcea also, for Suidas (s. v. *Χαλκεῖα*)<sup>170</sup> records that the Chalcea was "a festival at Athens, which some call the Athenea. It was afterwards celebrated by the artisans only, because Hephaestus worked in bronze in Attica. It falls on the last day of Pyanepsion, at which time the priestesses along with the Arrephoroi set the threads in the loom (*διάζονται*) for the weaving of the peplos. Phanodemus thinks that the festival is not in honor of Athena, but of Hephaestus." Bekker (Anecdota Graeca, i, 239)<sup>171</sup> speaks of a Deipnophoria, which consisted of "carrying gifts of food to the daughters of Cecrops, Herse, Pandrosus, and Aglaurus. It was carried out elaborately for some mystical reason, and many celebrated it, for it embodied an element of rivalry." Whether this Deipnophoria was distinct from the other festivals in which the daughters were concerned is uncertain.

It is hardly necessary to discuss the different forms that the word Arrephoria takes. Arretophoria could be applied in its etymological meaning to the Arrephoria just as well as to the Thesmophoria, as Lucian's scholiast tells us. The form *ἀρρηφορεῖν*, given by Suidas, is suggestive, if the first part could be connected with *ἀρρην*, "male", but the retention of *η* in the compound is against this view, although such retention may be justified by analogy.

From an inscription (C. I. A., iii, 319, *Ἐρσηφόροις β. Γῆς Θέμιδος*), it seems evident that Pandrosus, the patroness of this ceremony of the Arrephoria, was sometimes identified with Ge-Themis, who is an earlier aspect of Demeter and Persephone (Miss Harrison, Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1891, p. 352), who were patronesses of the Thesmophoria. In fact, both or all these divinities were earth spirits. Pandrosus in the myth is faithful to her trust; she is really Curotrophus. Miss Harrison would also conceive of Eileithyia as this early earth-goddess. This Ge-Themis-Pandrosus divinity passed away before the rising Demeter, and Hermes, the husband of Pandrosus,—Hermes who

was an ithyphallic god of fertility<sup>a</sup>, leaves some traces of his relationship on the Areopagus (Pausanias, i, 28, 6), *κεῖται δὲ καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Γῆς ἄγυλμα*. An ancient wooden image of Hermes was kept in the temple of Athena Polias, concealed by myrtle boughs; it was said to be an offering of Cecrops, the legendary father of Pandrosus (Pausanias, i, 27, 1)<sup>152</sup>.

A passage in Harpocration (s. v. *ἐπίβοων*)<sup>153</sup> based on the authority of Philochortus reads, "if anyone sacrificed an ox to Athena, it was necessary to sacrifice also a sheep to Pandora." These sacrificial animals are natural in the case of agricultural divinities. This passage has puzzled students, who amend *Pandora* to *Pandrosus*, since Pandora is not otherwise found in the cult of Athena. However, if we recognize that Pandrosus is Ge, and Pandora is the same, it is unnecessary to make the change. Miss Harrison (Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 278-81) thinks that Pandora was merely a form of Kore, or the twin earth-spirit of Demeter. By what seems a mere slip, Fulgentius (Mythologiae, ii, 14)<sup>154</sup> speaks of the two sisters, Aglaurus and Pandora, where Pandora is evidently Pandrosus. Photius and Suidas also give a variant reading of *Pandora* for *Pandrosus* in their descriptions of the *προτόνοι*<sup>155</sup>.

The Pandroseum, or sanctuary of Pandrosus, was on the Acropolis just west of the Erechtheum. This is clear from the evidence of the inscriptions relating to the building of the Erechtheum<sup>b</sup> and from the account of Pausanias (i, 27, 2)<sup>156</sup>, who says that the temple of Pandrosus, which must have been in this enclosure, was contiguous (*συνεχῆς*) to the Erechtheum. According to

<sup>a</sup> Preller-Robert, 4th ed., p. 388. Hermes was also the father of Cephalus by Creusa, the daughter of Erechtheus. In this discussion I have not taken the various local peculiarities of Erechtheus into consideration; an account by Engelmann may be consulted in Roscher's Lexicon.

<sup>b</sup> C. I. A., i, 322 (1, 45, 63, 70)<sup>155</sup>; C. I. A., iv, 1, p. 148<sup>156</sup>; also Philochorus, fr. 146 in Dionysius Halicarnassensis de Dinarcho, 3<sup>157</sup>. This last fragment makes mention of an altar of Zeus Herceus under the sacred olive in the Pandroseum, saying that a dog entered the Pandroseum from the temple of the Polias and mounted and lay down upon this altar; the dog was taboo on the Acropolis.

Frazer,<sup>a</sup> the temple was a small building which seems to have abutted on the south end of the west wall of the Erechtheum.

Sacrifices were made to Athena Polias and to Pandrosus by the Athenian youths (C. I. A., ii, 481)<sup>159</sup>. I am not discussing here the fact that later, in Athenian religion, the all-powerful cult of Athena absorbed the cults of Aglaurus and Pandrosus, and that Athena used their names attached to her own merely as cult epithets. The scholiast on Aristophanes (*Lysistrata*, 439)<sup>160</sup> thinks that it was from Pandrosus that Athena received the name of Pandrosus. The Arrephoroi acted both for Athena Polias and for Pandrosus, as we learn from inscriptions on the bases of statues set up to them in the Pandroseum (C. I. A., iii, 887<sup>124</sup>; ii, 1390)<sup>125</sup>. Thallo, who was one of the personifications of the seasons, was worshipped by the Athenians along with Pandrosus, according to Pausanias (ix, 35, 2)<sup>161</sup>. This Thallo was one of the spirits invoked in the oath of the ephеби at the sanctuary of Aglaurus.

It was probably in the Pandroseum that the court for ball-playing for the Arrephoroi was placed, and in this court there was also a bronze statue of Isocrates, represented as a boy on horseback (*Vitae decem Oratorum*, p. 839b.)<sup>162</sup>. Here also was the ancient olive<sup>b</sup> tree, sacred to Athena, which Pausanias and Apollodorus mention (*Apollodori Bibliotheca*, iii, 14, 1)<sup>163a</sup>.

A trace of Eastern or Semitic influence in the case of Pandrosus is seen in the fact that she was regarded as the first spinner. Her priestess wore a peculiar robe which was called *ποδώνυχον*. This is mentioned by Pollux (x, 191)<sup>164</sup>, and also by Stuidas and Photius (s. v. *προτόνυον*)<sup>154</sup>. Pandrosus with her sisters made clothing for men out of wool. The Phoenicians were the introducers of the fine arts into Greece and some of the traits of Pandrosus probably came with the Phoenicians. The two Arrephoroi, who wove the peplos for Athena, typify Pandrosus and her sister. Athena Ergane later usurped their prerogatives. Pandrosus is kept in close connection with the Erech-

<sup>a</sup> *Commentary on Pausanias*, ii, p. 337.

theum, and the grave of her old Semitic father Cecrops was near at hand under the southwest corner of that building, if Dörpfeld is correct in his identification. So here we have Erichthonius, Cecrops, and Pandrosus in juxtaposition on the Acropolis, typifying the old Semitic element in the settlement around the Acropolis.

Pandrosus is represented along with Aglaurus on the amphora showing Boreas carrying off Oreithyia (see Fig. 6) : on the red-figure vase from Corneto, showing the birth of Erichthonius (see Fig. 4) ; she is probably one of the "Three Fates" in the eastern gable of the Parthenon (see Fig. 10), and she is identified with certainty by Robert (*Hermes*, xvi, 67) as the maiden on the Petersburg hydria (Petersburg Collection, Vol. ii, 1021), whom Brunn takes as the nymph of the place (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayrischen Akademie*, 1876, 1, 477).

We come now to the third sister, Herse, and find that she has no cult at Athens, nor is there any Athena Herse ; Athena does not adopt her name as she did the names of Aglaurus and Pandrosus. Herse has not even an abiding place. Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, ii, 739)<sup>164</sup> noticed this, and placed her in a middle chamber on the Acropolis between Pandrosus and Aglaurus. Other earlier writers, such as Ister (Scholiast on Aristophanis *Lysistrata* 643)<sup>165</sup>, felt the need of a cult for Herse, and so they state that the Arrephoria or Ersephoria was held in her honor. However, we have seen that this festival was really held in honor of Pandrosus, and the evidence of Ister cannot counterbalance the weight of evidence on the other side. Miss Harrison (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1901, p. 351) shows quite conclusively that Herse "is a mere etymological eponymous of the festival Hersephoria." She is but the double of Pandrosus ; she is not original in the myth, but comes in later to make up a triad, as in the case of the Charites. Miss Harrison (*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 286) writes : "Evidence is not lacking that the trinity-form grew out of the duality." Originally there were only two, a variation of mother and maid, Demeter and Kore,

or two forms of the same thing at different stages. Of course, in classical times Herse was recognized and represented in art, and confuses the myth by being associated with Hermes as his wife, and by usurping the rights of her sisters in other ways. Aleman (fr. 48, taken from Plutarch's *Symposium*, iii, 10, 3)<sup>165</sup> poetically says that Ersa was the daughter of Zeus and Selene, but here the reference is clearly to the dew which forms only on clear, moon-light nights, and there is no idea of Herse being one of the "dew-sisters".

C. Robert (De Gratiis Atticis in *Comment.* Mommsen, p. 143 ff.) has noticed a connection between these maidens and the Charites; he holds that Herse should be identified with Auxo, just as Pandrosus was with Thallo. Auxo was mentioned along with Aglaurus and Thallo in the oath of the ephebi (Pollux, viii, 106)<sup>166</sup>. Toepffer's ideas in regard to this relationship have already been discussed. Miss Harrison in her *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, (p. 260) discusses a black-figure cylix in Munich (see Fig. 12), which shows certain creatures, whose upper part is in the figure of a maiden, while the lower part is snakelike; they are creeping about among some vines or shrubbery. "They are Charites, givers of grace and increase, and their snake-bodies mark them not as malevolent, but as earth-daemons, genii of fertility. They are near akin to the local Athenian hero, the snake-tailed Cecrops, and we are tempted to conjecture that in art, though not in literature, he may have lent his snake-tail to the Agraulid nymphs, his daughters."

On a neo-Attic relief (F. Hauser, *Jahrbuch des Oesterr. Arch. Instituts*, vi, 1903, p. 79-107; *American Journal of Archaeology* vii, (1903), p. 468), we find the Agraulidae represented along with the Horae, three figures each (see Fig. 11). From the same place—the Villa Palombara in Italy—came the reliefs of the Moerae, Zeus, and Hephaestus, now at Tegel, which are reproduced on the Madrid puteal along with the birth of Athena. It is interesting to note that Hesychius<sup>167</sup> says that the Moerae and the Agraulidae were considered the same among the Athenians. In this set of reliefs there seem to have been four divisions, and

Hauser thinks that it is probable that they are copies of bronze reliefs by the younger Cephisodotus, which adorned the altar of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira at the Piraeus.

Herse may be represented along with Aglaurus in the places mentioned in the treatment of that divinity, and possibly she is also shown along with Poseidon on a vase at Munich (*Münchener Vasen*, 415).

In the original myth, then, we have Aglaurus, Pandrosus, and Erichthonius. It is interesting to note the succession of their festivals; the Plynteria in Thargelion (May–June), the Arrephoria in Scirophorion (June–July), and the Panathenaea in Hecatombaion (July–August). This may denote successive stages in the development of the crops (Stephanus Byzantius, s. v. *Αγρανλήγ*)<sup>85</sup>.

When Athena became the great political goddess (Polias) of the Athenian state, she took over all these festivals into her own cult, and of these the Panathenaea was made the greatest, being the last of the three. The divinities with their Eastern characteristics became reconciled to Athena on the Acropolis and were subordinated to her. They became merely cult names.

We have seen that the sisters cannot be merely “dew-carriers”, and the whole story cannot be simply an agricultural myth, nor can these nymphs be only spring nymphs of the Acropolis as E. Curtius (*Hermes*, xxi, p. 291) would have us believe. The evidence does not permit of these conclusions. We have been driven to a non-Greek or Semitic origin for some of their attributes; Cecrops and Erichthonius are unanthropomorphic; the sisters are sisters of Phoenice, “the Phoenician” (Suidas, s. v. *Φοινικήα γράμματα*)<sup>86</sup>; Aglauros is propitiated by human sacrifice, and Pandrosus, closely associated with Cecrops, is the first spinner. Any etymologizing on the origin of these names I must leave to some one better fitted for determining it.

<sup>85</sup> Harpocration (s. v. *Παναθήναια*)<sup>87</sup> tells on ancient authority that Erichthonius instituted the Panathenaea; of course not under that name, for that comes from the so-called coalition of Theseus. Suidas records (s. v. *Κουροτρόφος Γῆ*)<sup>88</sup> that Erichthonius was the first to sacrifice to Ge-Curotrophus (Pandrosus?) on the Acropolis.

It may be well in conclusion to recapitulate the story of the birth of Erichthonius, in order to see what remains after certain embellishments have been left out.

In the first place the relations between Hephaestus and Athena were late in arising, and came from the fact that both were associated with artisans, and were worshipped by different classes of society in the Athenian state. When Athena as Ergane and Hephaestus were brought into conjunction with one another in the clash of worships at Athens, they had to marry and have a child, but Athena had also to preserve her virginity. Previous to this time Athena had come into conflict with a chthonic, or snake god, and had adopted him into her cult. This snake was Erichthonius and he was the same as Erechtheus, Cecrops, and Poseidon, of which last the story of the reconciliation is usually told. If this snake divinity was purely native to Athens in the beginning, he had, at any rate, been affected by Eastern influences at a later period, as is shown by his identification with Cecrops and Poseidon, and his place in the sky among the heavenly bodies. This snake god, who sometimes vacillates in form between snake and human form, at last came into the story as the product of the struggle between Athena and Hephaestus. There was a ritual for the worship of this snake god, which was celebrated by grown women in the Thesmophoria and by girls in the Arrephoria. This ritual of the Arrephoria gave rise to the story of the concealment of the snake-child Erichthonius in a chest, and his delivery over to certain maidens for them to guard. In the ceremony images of snakes and of the male member of generation were put into a box, which must not be opened by the maidens who guarded it. The symbols in the box were used as a charm, or were supposed to act beneficially on the crops of the fields, as also did the women themselves. I have discussed the relations between snakes and men and women, and the supposed effect of women on the fertility of the fields. I might even hazard a guess that the kernel of the ceremony, that started the myth of the concealment, is the typification of the sexual act itself by symbols, namely a chest, or box, and the image of a snake put into

it. Finally the two maidens of the Arrephoria were represented in the myth by certain nymphs, who, as has been shown, were originally two in number, one faithful, one unfaithful. Certain ritualistic practices were attached to their worship, and produced different endings to the myth, after the girls had opened the chest ; this has been shown in the study of the Plynteria. The whole myth then is a confusion of Olympian divinities with chthonic, or primitive cults, and Eastern influences, which it is well nigh impossible to unravel completely and to tabulate. The part played by Hephaestus and Athena and the consequent fructification of the earth has the appearance of an Aryan nature myth, such as is shown in the Rig-Veda, where the Indra bull pours his fructifying seed upon mother earth in the form of rain.

In the explanation of the various aspects of the myth which I have tried to give, if any one thing has been emphasized, it is this, that sex and the social position of women are to be recognized as important factors in the development of the rituals of early peoples, among whom we may number the Greeks. The pushing back of the origin of certain features of the myth under consideration to an Eastern source need only make more certain the sexual features which appear in the fragmentary accounts of the myth and ritual which have come down to us. The ultimate explanation of the why and the wherefore of certain beliefs, either in regard to sex or other natural phenomena, lies in the psychological ground-work of primitive man, and in the study of such a ground-work we are as yet mere novices and gropers in darkness.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> I cannot leave this question of the influence of sex, in the study of Greek ritual and mythology, without giving one more instance that has occurred to me, although it has no connection with the myth under discussion. Miss Harrison treats of the ceremony of the "Aiora" in *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. xl, and it is also discussed by Wentzel in the *Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopaedie*. The story concerning the origin of the festival was that Icarus was murdered by the Athenians, and that his daughter Erigone wandered about in search of him ; when she found his dead body, she hanged herself. The Athenians were punished for the murder, for many of the Athenian women sought the same death as Erigone. A festival was instituted in memory of the death of Erigone, but

instead of women, puppets were strung up (*αλωρεῖσθαι*), and Erigone was celebrated in a song as the *ἀλῆτης*, or wandering one. The festival, then, seems to have been one of expiation, and in the ritual there was swinging by maidens. Miss Harrison thinks that the whole myth is a contamination of primitive Dionysiac worship and late Apolline cults; from the first, the idea of a wave-offering, from the second, the notion of the expiation of hereditary guilt. She adds: "Why the wave-offering or swinging is considered expiatory, I do not clearly know, but the notion of swinging as a cultus practice is not, I believe, confined to the Greeks."

The festival was said to be *εὐδειπνος*, and was also "licentious" or "wanton" (*τρυφῶν*) in character (Athenaeus, xiv, 10). There is described in Bent's *Cyclades* (p. 5) a swing festival at Seriphos and Karpathos, celebrated at the present time, where maidens are swung, just as they were in the ceremony of the "Aiora". However, it is the licentiousness of the ceremony that I wish to speak of; this licentiousness is to be explained by the effects of the swinging, and I can best account for this effect of swinging by quoting passages from different writers bearing on the point. Havelock Ellis (*Studies in the Psychology of Sex, Auto-Erotism*, p. 120) writes in connection with the use of hobby horses: "at the temples in some parts of central India, I am told, swings are hung up in pairs, men and women swinging in these until sexually excited; during the months when the men in these districts have to be away from home the girls put up swings to console themselves for the loss of their husbands." Again Ellis writes (*Studies in the Psychology of Sex; Love and Pain*, p. 121): "The imagined pleasure of being strangled by a lover brings us to a group of feelings which would seem to be not unconnected with respiratory elements. I refer to the pleasurable excitement experienced by some in suspension, swinging, restraint, and fetters. Strangulation seems to be the extreme and most decided type of this group of imagined or real situations, in all of which a respiratory disturbance seems to be an essential element (Angell and Thompson, "A Study of the Relations between certain Organic Processes and Consciousness," *Psychological Review*, January, 1899. A summary statement of the relations of the respiration and circulation to emotional states will be found in Külpe's *Outlines of Psychology*, Part i, section 2, par. 37). In explaining these phenomena we have to remark that respiratory excitement has always been a conspicuous part of the whole process of tumescence and detumescence, of the struggles of courtship and of its climax, and that any restraint upon respiration, or, indeed, any restraint upon muscular and emotional activity generally, tends to heighten the state of sexual excitement associated with such activity. I have elsewhere, when studying the spontaneous solitary manifestation of the sexual instinct (*Auto-Erotism*), referred to the pleasurable emotional, and sometimes sexual, effects of swinging and similar kinds of movement. It is possible that there is a certain significance in the frequency with which the eighteenth century French painters, who lived at a time when the refinements of sexual emotion were carefully sought out, have painted women in the act of swinging. Fragonard mentions that in 1763 a gentleman invited him into the country,

with the request to paint his mistress, especially stipulating that she should be depicted in a swing. The same motive was common among the leading artists of that time. It may be said that this attitude was merely a pretext to secure a vision of ankles, but that result could easily have been obtained without the aid of a swing." Kline in an article "The Migratory Impulse" in The American Journal of Psychology for October, 1898, p. 62, writes: "The sensation of motion, as yet but little studied from a pleasure pain standpoint, is undoubtedly a pleasure giving sensation. For Aristippus, the end of life is pleasure, which he defines as gentle motion. Motherhood long ago discovered its virtue as furnished by the cradle. Galloping to town on the parental knee is a pleasing pastime in every nursery. The several varieties of swings, the hammock, see-saw, flying-jenny, merry-go-round, shooting the chutes, sailing, coasting, rowing, and skating, together with the fondness of children for rotating rapidly in one spot until dizzy, and for jumping from high places are all devices and sports for stimulating the sense of motion. In most of these modes of motion the body is passive or semi-passive, save in such motions as skating and rotating on the feet. The passiveness of the body precludes any important contribution of stimuli from kinaesthetic sources. *The stimuli are probably furnished, as Dr. Hall and others have suggested, by a redistribution of fluid pressure (due to unusual motions and positions of the body) to the inner walls of the several vascular systems of the body.*"

## LITERARY SOURCES.

<sup>1</sup> Antigonus Carystius, Hist. Mirab. xii: Ἀμεληταγόρας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ τὴν Ἀτθίδι μυγγεγραφώς, οὗ φησι κορώνην προσίπτασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οὐδὲ ἔχοι ἀν εἰπεῖν ἔωρακὼς οὐδείς. Ἀποδίδωσιν δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν μυθικῶς. φησὶν γὰρ Ἰφαύστῳ δοθείσης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, συγκατακλιθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἀφανισθῆναι. τὸν δὲ Ἡφαιστον, εἰς γῆν πεσόντα, προέεσθαι τὸ σπέρμα. τὴν δὲ γῆν ὑστερον αὐτῷ ἀναδοῦναι Ἐριχθόνιον· ὃν τρέφειν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, καὶ εἰς κίστην καθεῖραι, καὶ πυριθέσθαι ταῖς Κέκροπος παισίν, Ἀγριαύλῳ καὶ Πανδρόσῳ καὶ Ἐρσῃ, καὶ ἐπιτάξαι μὴ ἀνοίγειν τὴν κίστην, ἵνας ἀν αὐτῇ ἔλθῃ. ἀφικομένην δὲ εἰς Πελλήνην, φέρειν ὄρος, ἵνα ἔρυμα πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ποιήσῃ· τὰς δὲ Κέκροπος θυγατέρας τὰς δύο, Ἀγριαύλον καὶ Πάνδροσον, τὴν κίστην ἀνοίξαι, καὶ ἰδεῖν δράκοντας δύο περὶ τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον. τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ, φερούσῃ τὸ ὄρος, ὃ νῦν καλεῖται Λυκαβηττός, κορώνην φησὶν ἀπαντῆσαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ἐριχθόνιος ἐν φυνερῷ· τὴν δὲ ἀκούσιαν, ῥῦψαι τὸ ὄρος, ὅπου νῦν ἐστι. τῇ δὲ κορώνῃ, διὰ τὴν κικαγγελίαν, εἰπεῖν ὡς εἰς ἀκρόπολιν οὐ θέμις αὐτῇ ἔσται ἀφικέσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> Euripides, Ion, 21 fl. :

κείω γὰρ ἡ Διὸς κόρη  
φρουρῷ παραζεύξαται φύλακε σάρματος  
διτισῷ δράκοντε, παρθένοις Ἀγλιυρίστι  
δίδωσι σώζειν.

<sup>3</sup> Euripides, Ion, 258–274 :

ΙΩΝ. τίς δ' εἰ; πόθεν γῆς ἥλθες; ἐκ ποίου πατρὸς  
πέφυκας; ὄνομα τί σε καλεῖν ἡμᾶς χρεών;

260 ΚΡ. Κρέουσα μέν μοι τοῦνομ', ἐκ δ' Ἐρεχθέως  
πέφυκα, πατρὶς γῆ δ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.

ΙΩΝ. ὡς κλεινὸν οἰκοῦσ' ἄστυ γενναίων τ' ἄπο  
τραφεῖσα πατέρων, ὡς σε θαυμάζω, γύναι.

ΚΡ. τοσαῦτα κεύτυχοῦμεν, ὡς ξέν', οὐ πέρα.

265 ΙΩΝ. πρὸς θῶν ἀληθῶς, ὡς μεμύθευται βροτοῖς,  
ΚΡ. τί χρῆμ' ἔρωτῆς, ὡς ξέν'; ἐκμαθεῖν θέλω.

ΙΩΝ. ἐκ γῆς πατρός σου πρόγονος ἔβλιστεν πατήρ;

ΚΡ. Ἐριχθόνιός γε τὸ δὲ γένος μ' οὐκ ὀφελεῖ.

ΙΩΝ. ἡ καί σφ' Ἀθάνα γῆθεν ἔξανελετο;

270 ΚΡ εἰς παρθένους γε χεῖρας, οὐ τεκοῦσάνν.

ΙΩΝ δίδωσι δ', ὡσπερ ἐν γριφῇ νομίζεται:

ΚΡ Κέκροπός γε σψξεν παισὶν οὐχ ὥρομενον.

ΙΩΝ ἥκουσα λῆσαι παρθένους τεῦχος θεᾶς.

ΚΡ τοιγάρ θανοῦσαι σκόπελον γῆμαζαν πέτρας.

<sup>1</sup> Apollodorus, iii, 14, 6: Τοῦτον ('Εριχθόνιον) οὖν Ηφαίστουν καὶ τῆς Κρανιοῦ θυγατρὸς Ἀτθίδος εἶναι λέγουσιν, οὐ δὲ Ηφαίστουν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς, οὔτως. Ἀθηνᾶ πιρεγένετο πρὸς Ηφαίστουν, ὅπλα κατασκειάσαι θέλουσα. ὃ δὲ ἐγκαταλειμμένος ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης εἰς ἐπιθυμῶν ὕλισθε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ διώκειν αὐτὴν ἥρξατο. ἡ δὲ ἔφενγεν. ὡς δὲ ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο πολλῇ ἀνάγκῃ (ἥν γὰρ χωλός), ἐπειρᾶτο συνελθεῖν. ἡ δὲ ὡς σώφρων καὶ παρθένος οὖσα οὐκ ἥνεσχετο. ὃ δὲ ἀπεσπέρμηνεν εἰς τὸ σκέλος τῆς θεᾶς. ἐκείνη δὲ μυσαχθεῖσα ἐρίψα ἀπομάξασα τὸν γόνον εἰς γῆν ἔρριψε. φευγούσης δὲ αὐτῆς, καὶ τῆς γυνῆς εἰς γῆν πεσούσης, Ἐριχθόνιως γίνεται. τοῦτον Ἀθηνᾶ κρύψι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἔτρεφεν, ἀθάνατον θέλουσα ποιῆσαι· καὶ καταθεῖσα αὐτὸν εἰς κύστην Πανδρόσῳ τῇ Κέκροπος παρικατέθετο, ἀπειποῦσα τὴν κύστην ἀνοίγειν. αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ τῆς Πανδράστου ἥνοιγουσιν ὑπὸ περιεργίας, καὶ θεῶνται τῷ βρέφει παρειπειραμένοι δράκοντα· καὶ ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ διεφθάρησαν τοῦ δράκοντος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, δὲ ὀργὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐμικραῖς γενόμεναι κατὰ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως αὐτὰς ἔρριψαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ τεμένει τριφεῖς Ἐριχθόνιος ὑπὸ αὐτῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐκβαλὼν Ἀμφικτύονα ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηνῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει ἔδανον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἰδρύσατο, καὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων τὴν ἔορτὴν συνεστήσατο, καὶ Ηραξίδειν νηῆμα νύμφην ἔγημεν, ἐξ ἣς παῖς Ηιρδίων ἐγεννήθη.

<sup>2</sup> Scholia in Iliadis B 547:

<sup>3</sup> Ερεχθίος] Ἐρεχθέως τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀθηναίων, τοῦ καὶ Ἐριχθονίου καλουμένου, γεννηθέντος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ηφαίστου. οὗτος γὰρ ἐδίωκεν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐρῶν αὐτῆς, ἡ δὲ ἔφυγεν· ὡς δὲ ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο πολλῇ ἀνάγκῃ (ἥν γὰρ χωλός), ἐπειρᾶτο συνελθεῖν· ἡ δὲ ὡς σώφρων καὶ παρθένος οὖσα οὐκ ἥνετο. οὔτως ἀπεσπέρμηνεν εἰς τὸ σκέλος τῆς θεᾶς. ἡ δὲ μυσαχθεῖσα, ἐρίψα ἀπομάξασα τὸν γόνον ἔρριψεν εἰς γῆν· ὅθεν Ἐριχθόνιος δὲ τῆς γῆς ἀναδοθεὶς παῖς ἐκλήθη, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρίσου καὶ τῆς χθονός. ἵστορε Καλλίμαχος ἐν Ἐκάλῃ.

<sup>4</sup> Ovid, Metamorphoses, ii, 552 fl. :

- - - - nam tempore quodam

Pallas Erichthonium, prolem sine matre creatam,

Cluserat Actaeo texta de vimine cista,  
 555 Virginibusque tribus gemino de Cecrope natis  
 Et legem dederat, sua ne secreta viderent.  
 Abdita fronde levi densa speculabar ab ulmo,  
 Quid facerent. commissa duae sine fraude tuerentur,  
 Pandrosus atque Herse, timidas vocat una sorores  
 560 Aglauros, nodosque manu diducit. et intus  
 Infantemque vident apporectumque draconem.

<sup>7</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ii, 740 fl. :

740 Quae tenuit laevum, venientem prima notavit  
 Mercurium nomenque dei scitarier ausa est  
 Et causam adventus. cui sic respondit Atlantis  
 Pleionesque nepos : 'ego sum, qui iussa per auras  
 Verba patris porto. pater est mihi Iuppiter ipse.  
 745 Nee singam causas : tu tantum fida sorori  
 Esse velis prolixque meae materterea dici.  
 Herse causa viae. faveas oramus amanti.'  
 Aspicit hunc oculis isdem, quibus abdita nuper  
 Viderat Aglaurus flavae secreta Minervae,  
 750 Proque ministerio magni sibi ponderis aurum  
 Postulat : interea tectis exceedere cogit.

<sup>8</sup> Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 166 :

Vulcanus Iovi ceterisque deis solia aurea ex adamante cum  
 fecisset, Iuno cum sedisset, subito in aere pendere coepit. Quod  
 cum ad Vulcanum missum esset, ut matrem quam ligaverat  
 solveret, iratus quod de caelo praeceps erat negat se ma-  
 trem ullam habere. Quem cum Liber Pater ebrium in concilio  
 deorum adduxisset, pietati negare non potuit : tum optionem a  
 Iove accepit, si quid ab iis petisset, impetraret. Tunc ergo  
 Neptunus, quod Minervae erat infestus, instigavit Vulcanum  
 Minervam petere in coniugium. Qua re impetrata, in thalamum  
 cum venisset, Minerva monitu Iovis virginitatem suam armis  
 defendit, interque luctandum ex semine eius quod in terram  
 decidit, natus est puer, qui inferiorem partem draconis habuit ;  
 quem Erichthonium ideo nominarunt, quod *ερις* Graece certatio

dicitur, *χθῶν* autem terra dicitur. Quem Minerva cum clam nutritret, dedit in cistula servandum Aglauro Pandroso et Hersae Cecropis filiabus. Hae cum cistulam aperuissent cornix indicavit; illae, a Minerva insania obiecta ipsae se in mare praecipitaverunt.

<sup>9</sup> Hyginus, Astronomica, ii, 13: Heniochus. Hunc nos Aurigam Latine dicimus nomine Erichthonium, ut Eratosthenes monstrat. quem Jupiter cum vidisset primum inter homines equos quadrigis iunxit, admiratus est ingenium hominis, ad Solis inventa accessisse, quod is princeps quadrigis inter deos est usus. sed Erichthonius et quadrigas, ut ante diximus, et sacrificia Minervae, et templum in aree Atheniensium primus instituit. de cuius progenie Euripides ita dicit, Vulcanum Minervae pulchritudine corporis inductum, petisse ab ea, ut sibi nuberet, neque impetrasse. Et coepisse Minervam scse occultare in eodem loco, qui propter Vulcani amorem Hephaestius est appellatus. quo persecutum Vulcanum, ferunt coepisse ei vim adferre. et cum plenus cupiditatis ad eam ut complexu se applicaret ferretur, repulsus, effudit in terram voluptatem. Quo Minerva, pudore permota, pede pulverem iniecit. Ex hoc autem nascitur Erichthonius anguis, qui ex terra et eorum dissensione nomen possedit. Eum dicitur Minerva in cistella quadam ut mysteria contectum ad Erechthei filias detulisse, et his dedisse servandum; quibus interdixit, ne cistulam aperirent. Sed ut hominum est natura cupida, ut eo magis appetant quo interdicatur saepius, virgines cistellam aperuerunt, et anguem viderunt: quo facto, insania a Minerva iniecta, de aree Atheniensium se praecipitaverunt. Anguis autem ad Minervae clypeum confugit, et ab ea est educatus. Alii autem anguina tantum crura habuisse Erichthonium dixerunt, cumque primo tempore adulecentiae ludos Minervae Panathenaea fecisse, et ipsum quadrigis concurrisse, pro quibus factis inter sidera dicitur conlocatus.

<sup>10</sup> Pausanias, i, 18, 2:

Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Διοσκούρων τὸ ιερὸν Ἀγλαύρου τέμενός ἐστιν. Ἀγλαύρῳ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς Ἐρσῃ καὶ Πανδρόσῳ δοῦναι φασιν Ἀθηνᾶν Ἐριχθόνιον, καταθεῖσαν ἐς κιβωτόν, ἀπειπούσαν ἐς τὴν παρακαταθήκην μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν.

Πάνδροσον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι πείθεσθαι, τὰς δὲ δύο, ἀνοῖξαι γὰρ σφᾶς τὴν κιβωτόν, μαίνεσθαι τε, ὡς εἶδον τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἔνθα ἦν μάλιστα ἀπότομον, αὐτὰς βίψαι.

<sup>11</sup> Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*, 9 : De iugo vero quadrigas soli, bigas lunae sanxerunt. Sed et

Primus Erichthonius cursus et quattuor ausus

Jungere equos, rapidusque rotis insistere vixor (Verg. *Georg.* iii, 113). Erichthonius, Minervae et Vulcani filius, et quidem de caduca in terram libidine, portentum est daemonicum, immo diabolus ipse, non coluber.

<sup>12</sup> Philostratus, *Apollonii Vita*, vii, 24 :

ἔτέρον δ' αὐτὸν φήσιντος γραφὴν φεύγειν, ἐπειδὴ θύων ἐν Τάραντι, οὗ ἡρχε, μὴ προσέθηκε ταῖς δημοσίαις εὐχαῖς, ὅτι Δομετινὸς Ἀθηρᾶς εἴη παῖς "οὐ μὲν φῆθη" ἔφη "μὴ ἀν τὴν Ἀθηρᾶν τεκέν παρθένον οὐσαν τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἡγνόεις δ', οἵμα, ὅτι ἡ θεὸς αὕτη Ἀθηναῖος ποτὲ δράκοντα ἔτεκε."

<sup>13</sup> Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones*, i, 17 :

Nam cum Vulcanus deis arma fecisset, eique Iuppiter optionem dedisset praemii quod vellet postulandi, iurassetque, ut solebat, per infernā paludem se nihil negaturum, tum faber claudus Minervae nuptias postulavit. Hie Juppiter Optimus Maximus tanta religione constrictus abnuere non potuit : Minervam tamen monuit repugnare, pudicitiamque defendere. Tum in illa collucatione Vulcanum in terram effusisse aiunt semen, unde sit Erichthonius natus ; idque illi nomen impositum ἀπὸ τῆς ἔριδος, καὶ χθονός, id est, ex certamine atque humo. Cur igitur virgo eum puerum cum dracone conclusum et obsignatum tribus virginibus Cœropidis commendavit ? Evidens, ut opinor, incestum, quod nullo modo possit colorari.

<sup>14</sup> Lactantius, *Epitome* 9, 2 :

Ipsae illae virgines Minerva et Diana, num castae ? Unde igitur prosiluit Erichthonius ? Num in terram Vulcanus semen effudit, et inde homo tamquam fungus enatus est ? . . . . . Quid haec significant, nisi incestum, quod poetae non audent confiteri ?

<sup>15</sup> Probus on Vergil's *Georgics*, iii, 113 :

Erichthonius Electrae et Iovis filius fuit ; sed huius nunc

mentio non est, sed Attici, Vulcani filii et terrae. Cum cupiditate eius patris luctando invaluisse Minervae per certamina natus est, a terra et a certamine Erichthonius dictus. Primus autem dicitur quadrigis usus, quo decentius celaret pedes anguinos suos.

Servius on Vergil's Georgies, iii, 113: Primus Erichthonius; Vulcanus impetrato a Iove Minervae coniugio, illa reluetante, effectum libidinis proiecit in terram: inde natus est puer draconetis pedibus, qui appellatus est Erichthonius, quasid terra et lute procreatus. Nam *ερυς* est lis, *χθων* terra. Hie ad tegendam pedum foeditatem, innotis equis, usus est curru, quo tegeret sui corporis turpitudinem.

Servius on Vergil's Georgies, i, 205: Sane nonnulli hunc Aurgam, Myrtillum, quem Pelops occidit, accipiunt, vel certe Erichthonium, qui natus est ex semine Vulcani, quod, dum stuprum Minervae inferre conaretur, fudit in terram.

Philargyrius on Vergil's Georgies, iii, 113: Erichthonius; Varro in, qui Admirabilium inscribitur, Erichthonium ait primum equos quattuor iunxisse ludis, qui Parathenaea appellantur. De hoc Erichthonio alibi satis dictum, qui anguinis pedibus fuisse inemonatur.

<sup>16</sup> Augustine, De Civitate Dei, xviii, 12:

Erichthonii regis Atheniensium, cuius novissimis annis Jesus Nave (Joshua, the son of Nun, Νων) mortuus reperitur, Vulcanus et Minerva parentes fuisse dicuntur. Sed quoniam Minervam virginem volunt, in amborum contentione Vulcanum commotum effusisse aiunt semen in terram, atque inde homini nato ob eam causam tale inditum nomen. Graeca enim lingua *ερυς* contentio, *χθων* terra est; ex quibus duobus compositum vocabulum est Erichthonius. Verum, quod fatendum est, refellunt et a suis deis repellunt ista doctiores, qui hanc opinionem fabulosam hinc exortam ferunt, quia in templo Vulcani et Minervae, quod ambo unum habebant Athenis, expositus inventus est puer draconem involutus, qui cum significavit magnum futurum, et propter commune templum, cum essent parentes eius ignoti, Vulcani et Minervae dictum esse filium. Nominis tamen eius originem fabula illa potius quam ista designat historia.

<sup>17</sup> Pausanias, i, 14, 6 :

Ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλούμενην βασίλειον ναός ἔστιν Ἡφαίστου. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἄγαλμά οἱ παρέστηκεν Ἀθηνᾶς, οὐδὲν θαῦμα ἐποιούμην τὸν ἐπὶ Ἐριχθονίῳ ἐπιστάμενος λόγον.

<sup>18</sup> Lactantius Placidus, Narrationes Fabularum, ii, 12 :

Athenis virgines per sollempne sacrificium canistris Minervae ferunt pigmenta : inter quas a Mercurio eminens specie conspecta est Herse Cecropis filia. Itaque adgressus est sororem eius Aglauron, precatusque, ut se Hersae sorori suae iungeret. At illa cum pro ministerio aurum eum poposeisset, Minerva graviter offensa est avaritia eius, ob quam cistulam etiam traditam sororibus eius custodiendam adversus suum praedictum aperuisset : Invidiae novissime imperavit eam sororis Herses exacerbare fortunio : diuque exerciatam saxo mutavit.

<sup>19</sup> Fulgentius, Mythologiae, ii, 14 :

De Vulcano et Minerva.

Vulcanus cum Iovi fulmen efficeret, ab Iove promissum accepit, ut quidquid vellet praesumeret. Ille Minervam in coniugium petivit. Iupiter imperavit, ut Minerva armis virginitatem defendisset. Dumque cubiculum introirent, certando Vulcanus semen in pavimentum eiecit, unde natus est Erichthonius. ἐπις enim Graece certamen dicitur, χθὼν χθονὸς vero terra nuncupatur : quem Minerva in cistam abscondidit, draconequa custode adposito, duabus sororibus Aglauro et Pandorae commendavit, qui primus currum reperit. Vulcanum dici voluerunt, quasi furiae ignem : unde et Vulcanus dicitur, veluti voluntatis calor. Denique Iovi fulgura facit, id est, furorem concitat. Ideo vero cum Minervae coniungi voluerunt, quod furor etiam sapientibus subrepatur. Illa vero armis virginitatem defendit : hoc est, omnis sapientia integritatem suorum morum contra furiam virtute animi vindicat. Unde quidem Erichthonius nascitur : ἐπις enim Graece certamen dicitur, χθὼν vero non solum terra, quantum etiam invidia dici potest. Unde et Thales Milesius ait : ὁ χθὼν δόξης κοσμικῆς στέρησις, id est, invidia mundanae gloriae consumptio. Et quidam aluid subripiens furor sapientiae generare poterat, nisi certamen invidiae? Quod quidem sapientia, id est, Minerva, abscondidit in

cista, id est in corde celat. *Omnis enim sapiens, furorem suum in corde celat.* Ergo Minerva draconem custodem adponit, id est pernicem: quem quidem duabus commendat virginibus, id est Aglauro et Pandorae. Pandora enim universale dicitur munus. Aglauro vero, quasi *ἀχόληθον*, id est tristitiae oblivio. Sapiens enim dolorem suum aut benignitati commendat, quae omnium munus est: aut oblivioni, sicut de Caesare dictum est: *Qui obliviisci nihil amplius soles, quam iniurias.* Denique cum Erichthonius adolesceret, quid invenisse dicitur? Nihilominus currum, ubi semper certamen est. Unde Vergilius: *Primus Erichthonius currus, et quatuor ausus iungere equos.* Inspicie, quantum valeat cum sapientia iuncta castitas, cui flammam non praevaluit deus.

<sup>20</sup> Scholia Bernensia ad Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica (Georgica iii, 113):

Erichthonius. Ut Gaudentius dieit, de Vulcano et Minerva reluctante et libidinem proiciente in terram, puer draconis pedibus quasi de Terra et Lite procreatur; huic ad tegendam pedum foeditatem iunctis equis usus est currus, quo tegeret sui corporis turpitudinem.

<sup>21</sup> Etymologicum Magnum, s. v. 'Ερεχθεύς: ὁ Ἐπιχθόνιος καλούμενος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσπάσθαι εἰς τὴν ἔρων· ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄρέεως τοῦ Ἡφαίστου· ἡ παρὰ τὸ ἐρείκω, Ἐρεχθεὺς κύριον· παρὰ τὸ διωσχίσαι αὐτὸν τὴν γῆν καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος Ἡφαίστου, ἡνίκα ἔκριψεν αὐτὸν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ λέγεται καὶ Ἐριχθόνιος.

"Οτι ὁ Ζεὺς βουλόμενος ἀποκυῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἐδεῖτο συνεργοῦ τοῦ πλήξυντος τὴν κεφαλήν, ἵνα ἀποκυηθῇ· καὶ δὴ λόγος προσφέρει τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ περὶ τούτου. 'Ο δὲ Ἡφαίστος οὐκ ἄλλως εἰλετο σχύσαι τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Διός, εἰ μὴ τὴν γεννωμένην διαπαρθενεύσει· καὶ ἡνέσχετο ὁ Ζεύς. Καὶ λαβὼν τὴν βουνπλῆγα, τέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔξέρχεται ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ ἐπεδίωκεν αὐτὴν ὁ Ἡφαίστος, ἵνα συγγένηται· καὶ ἐπιδιώκων, ἀπειστέρμηνει εἰς τὸν μηρὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ, λιβοῦσα ἔριον, ἔξέμαξε τὸ σπέρμα, καὶ ἔρριψεν ἐν τῇ γῇ· καὶ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ ἔριου ἄνθρωπος δρακοντόπους, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Ἐριχθόνιος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔριου καὶ τῆς χθονὸς λαβὼν τὸ ὄνομα τούτο.

<sup>22</sup> Scholiast on Plato's *Timaeus*, 426 :

Γῆς τε καὶ Ἡφαίστου] Ζεὺς Μήτιδι συνελθὼν καὶ γενομένην ἔγκυον καταπίνει, ἐπίπερ ἐλεγε παῖδα γεννήσειν μετὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννᾶσθαι κόρην, ὃς δυναστεύσει οὐρανοῦ. ὡς δ' ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ταύτης ἐνέστη γεννήσεως, δεῖται Ἡφαίστου πρὸς τούτο συνεργοῦ, ὡς κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς πλήξειεν αὐτόν· ἐπὶ ταύτης γὰρ ἐκυοφόρει τὸ ἔμβρυον. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ὑπακούσας κατένευσεν, εἰ μὴ τῇ γεννωμένῃ συγχωρηθείη συνελθεῖν εἰς εὐνήν. ὑποστάντος δὲ τοῦ Διός, πελέκει τούτου τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἡφαίστος πλήττει. καὶ γεννᾶται μὲν οὗτος ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἀθηνᾶ, ἐπιδιώκων δὲ αὐτὴν Ἡφαίστος ἀποσπερμάτινος μὲν εἰς τὸν ταύτης μηρόν, ἡ δὲ λαβοῦσα ἔριον τὸ σπέρμα ἐξέμαξεν, ἔρριψε τε εἰς γῆν. καὶ οὗτος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔριον καὶ τῆς χθονὸς δρακοντόπους ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο, Ἐριχθόνιος τούνομα. τοῦτ' οὖν ἐνταῦθι φησιν, ὅτι Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦτον λέγουσι γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς αὐτόχθονα.

<sup>23</sup> Mythographi Graeci, ed. Westermanni, pp. 359–60 :

The same as *Etymologicum Magnum*<sup>21</sup> beginning ὁ Ζεὺς βουλόμενος, with one or two slight changes in the word order.

<sup>24</sup> Eudocia, *Violarium*, p. 7, I<sup>e</sup> :

Περὶ τοῦ πᾶς ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, παρθένος οὐτιστι, τίκτει δράκοντα.

Τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν βουλόμενος ὁ Ζεὺς ἀποκυνῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου αὐτοῦ, ἵνα κυνθείῃ, λόγους προσφέρει τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ περὶ τούτου. ὁ δὲ Ἡφαίστος οὐκ ἄλλως εἰλετο σχίσαι τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Διός, εἰ μὴ τὴν γεννωμένην ἀποπαρθενεύστει. καὶ ἡμέσχετο ὁ Ζεύς· καὶ λαβὼν ὁ Ἡφαίστος τὸν βουπλῆγα, τέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Διός. καὶ ἐξέρχεται ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ ἐπεδιώκει αὐτὴν ὁ Ἡφαίστος, ἵνα αὐτῇ συγγένηται, καὶ ἐπιδιώκων ἀπεσπέρμηνει εἰς τὸν μηρὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ λαβοῦσα ἔριον, ἐξέμαξε τὸ σπέρμα, καὶ ἔρριψεν ἐν τῇ γῇ· καὶ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ ἔριον ἄνθρωπος δρακοντόπους, ὃς καλεῖται Εριχθόνιος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔριον καὶ τῆς χθονὸς λαβὼν τούνομα.

<sup>25</sup> Eudocia, *Violarium*, p. 151, CCCL :

Περὶ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως.

Ἐρεχθεὺς νίὸς Ἡφαίστου μυθεύεται παρὰ τὸ διασχίσαι αὐτὸν τὴν γῆν καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος Ἡφαίστου, ἡνίκα ἔκρυψεν αὐτὸν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν τῇ γῇ· ἡ παρὰ τὸ ἐρέχθω, τὸ κινῶ. ἡ δὲ μυθοποία ἔστιν αὐτῇ. Then follows exactly the passage quoted under p. 7, I<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Eudocia, *Violarium*, p. 159, CCCLV :

Περὶ Ἐριχθονίου.

Ἐριχθόνιος Ἡφαίστου νίὸς λέγεται καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Βρονταίου θυγατρός,

τῆς καὶ Βελονίκης καλουμένης· πολλαὶ γὰρ Ἀθῆναι καὶ Ἀφροδῖται καὶ οὐ μία, οὐδὲ μυθική, ὡς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ὄνομάτων. ταύτη τούνν τῇ βασιλίδι "Ηφαιστος γάμῳ μιγεὶς γεννᾷ τὸν Ἐρεχθίουν, ὃς ἔβασιλενσεν Ἀττικῆς. ὡς δέ τισιν ἴστορεῖται, γηγενής· ἐκ τῆς Γῆς γάρ, ὡς φωστιν, ἀνεδόθη· ὅθεν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πάντας γηγενεῖς φάσκουσιν ἀπὸ τούτου. Ἀθηνᾶν γὰρ ληροῦσιν ἐλθοῦσαν πρὸς Ἡφαιστον ἔνεκεν ὅπλων κατατικεῖται ἐριστθεὶς Ἡφαιστος ἐδίωκε. καταλαβὼν δέ, ὡς ἀντέπιπτεν αὐτῷ Ἀθηνᾶ, περὶ τοὺς μηροὺς ἐπεσπέρμηνεν. ἡ δὲ μυστικθεῖσα, ἐρίψῃ εἰς γῆν τὸν γόνον ἀπέρριψεν. ἀνεδόθη δὲ ὁ Ἐρεχθίους, ὃ καὶ Ἐρεχθεῖν λεγόμενος, κληθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρίσου καὶ τῆς χθονός· ἄλλοι δὲ τοῦτο γενέσθιμι φωστίν, ὅτε δὲ Ζεὺς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου αὐτοῦ ἐνεργεάῃ τοῦ Ἡφαιστον ἀπεκίνητε, κιθῶς καὶ προείρηται.

<sup>27</sup> Athenagoras, Legatio pro Christianis i :

καὶ Ἀγραύλῳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια ἀγονοῦται καὶ Πανδρόσῳ, αἱ ἐνομίσθησαν ἀσεβεῖν ἀνοίξασαι τὴν λάρνακα.

<sup>28</sup> Apollodorus, iii, 14, 2, 1-2 :

Κέκροψ δὲ γῆμας τὴν Ἀκταίου κύριην Ἀγραυλον παιδαὶ μὲν ἔστηεν Ἐρυσίχθονα, ὃς ἄτεκνος μετήλλαξε, θυγατέρας δὲ Ἀγραυλον Ἐριγην Πάνδροσον. Ἀγραύλου μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀρεος Ἀλκίππη γίνεται. ταύτην βιξόμενος Ἀλιρρόθιος ὁ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ νύμφης Εὐρύτης ὑπὸ Ἀρεος φωραθεὶς κτείνεται. Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ κρίνεται, δικαιζόντων τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν Ἀρει, καὶ ἀπολύεται.

<sup>29</sup> Pausanias, i, 2, 6 :

Ἀκταίον λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἀττικῇ βασιλεῦσαι πρῶτον· ἀποθινόντος δὲ Ἀκταίου Κέκροψ ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν θυγατρὶ συνοικῶν Ἀκταίου· καὶ οἱ γίνονται θυγατέρες μὲν Ἐρση καὶ Ἀγλαυρος καὶ Πάνδροσος, οὐδὲ δὲ Ἐρυσίχθων. οὗτος οὐκ ἔβασιλενσεν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλά οἱ τοῦ πατρὸς ζῶντος τελευτῆσαι συνέβη, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Κέκροπος Κραναὸς ἔξεδέξατο, Ἀθηναίων δυνάμει προύχων.

<sup>30</sup> Euripides, Ion, 492 :

ὦ Πανὸς θακήματα καὶ  
παραυλίζουσα πέτρα  
μυχώδεσι Μακραῖς,  
ἴνα χοροὺς στείβουσι ποδοῖν  
Ἀγραύλου κόραι τρίγονοι  
στάδια χλοερὰ πρὸ Παλλάδος

ναῶν, συρίγγων  
νπ' αἰόλας ἵαχᾶς  
νμινων, ὅταν αὐλίοις  
συρίζης, ὡς Πάν.

<sup>31</sup> Suidas, s. v. Φουνικῆα γράμμιτα. - - - - Σκάμμων δ' ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν εὑρημάτων ἀπὸ Φουνίκης τῆς Ἀκταίωνος ὀνομασθῆναι. μυθεύεται δ' οὐτος ἀριστένων μὲν παιδῶν ἄπαις. γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ θυγατέρας Ἀγλαυρον, Ἐρσην, Πάνδροσον. τὴν δὲ Φουνίκην ἔτι παρθένον οὖσιν τελευτῆσαι.

<sup>32</sup> Scholia in Iliadis A 334 :

Διὸς ἄγγελοι] ἄστυλον γὰρ καὶ θεῖον τὸ γένος τῶν κηρύκων. Ἐρμῆς γὰρ μιγεῖς Πανδρόσῳ τῇ Κέκροπος θυγατρὶ ἔσχε παῖδα ὀνόματι Κήρυκα, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ τῶν κηρύκων γένος, ὡς ίστορεῖ Πτολεμαῖος.

<sup>33</sup> Pollux, viii, 103 :

Κῆρυξ ὁ μέν τις τῶν μυστικῶν, ἀπὸ Κήρυκος τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Πανδρόσου τῆς Κέκροπος, ὁ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἄγωνας, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς πομπάς, ἐκ τοῦ Εὐνειδῶν γένους, οἱ δὲ κατ' ἀγορὰν τὰ ὄντα προκηρύττοντες.

<sup>34</sup> Scholia in Aeschiniis κατὰ Τιμάρχου, i, 20 :

κηρυκευσάτω] ἄξιον ἀπορεῦν· τὸ γὰρ τῶν Κηρύκων γένος πρόστθεν ἦν ιερόν. καὶ οὐτω λέγονται Κήρυκες περὶ τὰ μυστήρια τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὅντες. δεῖ δὲ λέγειν ὅτι τῷ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἀπαγορεύει κηρυκεύειν, ἢν τι πάθῃ. Ἀλλως. Κηρύκων ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀθήναις γένη τέσσαρα, πρῶτον τὸ τῶν πανάγων, οἱ εἰσιν ἀπὸ Κήρυκος τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Πανδρόσου τῆς Κέκροπος, δεύτερον τὸ τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἄγωνας, τρίτον τὸ τῶν περὶ τὰς πομπάς, τέταρτον τὸ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς καὶ τὰ ὄντα.

<sup>35</sup> Pausanias, i, 38, 3 :

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Εὐμόλπου Κήρυξ νεώτερος λείπεται τῶν παιδῶν, ὃν αὐτοὶ Κήρυκες θυγατρὸς Κέκροπος Ἀγλαύρου καὶ Ἐρμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ Εὐμόλπου.

<sup>36</sup> Hesychius, s. v. Κήρυκες :

οἱ ἄγγελοι, οἱ διάκονοι, οἱ τὰς ὑπηρετικὰς ἐπιτελοῦντες πράξεις. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ γένος θιαγεῶν, ἀπὸ Κήρυκος τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ. Φανίας. καὶ τοὺς ἐρινάζοντας τοὺς ἐρινοὺς κήρυκας λέγουσι.

<sup>37</sup> Harpocration, s. v. Κήρυκες :

Ίσοκράτης Πανηγυρικῷ. γένος ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀθήναις οὐτως ὀνομαζόμενον, κέκληται δὲ ἀπὸ Κήρυκος τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ.

<sup>37</sup> Suidas, s. v. Κήρυκες. :

γένος ἐν Ἀθήναις, ὀνομασμένον ἀπὸ Κήρυκος τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ.

<sup>38</sup> Apollodorus, iii, 14, 3 :

Ἐρσης δὲ καὶ Ἐρμοῦ Κέφαλος, οὗ ἐρασθεῖσα Ήλως ἥρπασε καὶ μιγεῖσα ἐν Συρίᾳ παῖδα ἐγέννησε Τιθωνόν.

<sup>39</sup> C. I. G., 6280 B. II. 30-33 :

οὐ μιν δέ [*v.*] ύστηται, καὶ Κεκροπίδην περ ἐόντα,  
Τυρσηνῶν ἀρχαῖον ἐπισφύριον [*γ.*] ἔρις ἀνδρῶν,  
Ἐρσης ἐκγεγιώτα καὶ Ἐρμέω, εἰ ἐτεὸν δὴ  
Κῆρυξ Ἡρώδεω πρόγονος Θησηγάδαο.

<sup>40</sup> C. I. A., i, 5. A fragment from Eleusis :

Ἐρμῆ ἐναγωνίψ, Χάρισιν αἴγα - - - Ἀρτέμιδι αἴγα.

<sup>41</sup> Pausanias, vi, 22, 7 :

Απέχει δὲ ὡς πεντήκοντα Ὁλυμπίας σταδίους κώμη τε Ἡλείων Ἡράκλεων καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν Κύθηρος ποταμός· πηγὴ δὲ ἐκδιδοῦσα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ νυμφῶν ἐστιν ἵερὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ. Ὄνοματα δὲ ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἐκάστη τῶν νυμφῶν Καλλιφάεων, καὶ Σινάλλαιξις καὶ Ηηγαία τε καὶ Ἰατσίς, ἐν καινῷ δέ σφισιν ἐπίκλησις Ἰωνίδες. Λυομένους δὲ ἐν τῇ πηγῇ καμάτων τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀλγημάτων παντοίων ὥματα. Καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς νύμφας ἀπὸ Ἰωνος λέγοντοι τοῦ Γαργηττοῦ, μετοικήσαντος ἐνταῦθα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν.

<sup>42</sup> Strabo, viii, 356 :

ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς Σαλμώνης Ἡράκλεων, καὶ αὐτῇ μία τῶν δικτώ, διέχουσα περὶ τετταράκοντα σταδίους τῆς Ὁλυμπίας, κειμένη δὲ παρὰ τὸν Κυθήριον ποταμόν, οὗ τὸ τῶν Ἰωνιάδων νυμφῶν ἵερὸν τῶν πεπιστειμένων θεραπεύειν νόσους τοῖς ὕδαισι.

<sup>43</sup> Pausanias, i, 30, 4 :

Δείκνυται δὲ καὶ χῶρος καλούμενος Κολωνὸς ἵππιος. - - - καὶ βιωμὸς Ποσειδῶνος Ἰππίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰππίας.

<sup>44</sup> Scholion in Lycophrontis Alexandram, 766 :

Μέλανθος δὲ Ποσειδῶν παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις· Ἰππηγέτης δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς παρὰ Δηλίοις.

<sup>45</sup> Pausanias, iii, 14, 2. (in Sparta) :

Θεῶν δὲ ἵερα Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν Ἰπποκουρίον καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Λίγυναίας.

<sup>46</sup> Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, x. (1886), 367; an inscription from Elatea : Ποντίψ ἵππομέδοντι Ποσειδῶνι Χρόνου νίεῖ.

<sup>47</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid*, i, 441-445.

Iucus in urbe fuit media, laetissimus umbrae,  
quo primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni  
effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno  
monstrareret, caput acris equi : sic nam fore bello  
egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem.

<sup>48</sup> Pausanias, i, 14, 7 :

Δῆμος δέ ἔστιν Ἀθηναῖοις Ἀθμονέων, οἱ Πορφυρίωνα ἔτι πρότερον Ἀκταίου βασιλεύσαντα τῆς Οὐρανίας φασὶ τὸ παρὰ σφίσιν ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι. Δέγουσι δὲ ἀνὰ τοὺς δήμους καὶ ἄλλα οὐδὲν ὅμοιας καὶ οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες.

<sup>49</sup> Pausanias, viii, 25, 4-6 :

Τῇ θεῷ δὲ Ἐρινύς γέγονεν ἐπίκλησις· πλινωμένη γὰρ τῇ Δήμητρι, ἥνικα τὴν παιᾶν ἔζήτει, λέγουσιν ἐπεσθαί οἱ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἐπιθυμοῦντα αὐτῇ μιχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐς ἵππον μεταβαλοῦσαν ὅμοιν ταῖς ἵπποις νέμεσθαι ταῖς Ὀγκου, Ποσειδῶν δὲ συνέσιν ἀπατώμενος, καὶ συγγίνεται τῇ Δήμητρι ἄρσενι ἵππῳ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰκασθείς· τὸ μὲν δὴ παραντίκα τὴν Δήμητρα ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάντι ἔχειν ὀργίλως, χρόνῳ δὲ ὑστερον τοῦ τε θυμοῦ παύσασθαι καὶ τῷ Λάδωνι ἐθελῆσαι φασιν αὐτὴν λούσασθαι. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐπικλίγεις τῇ θεῷ γεγόνασι, τοῦ μηνίματος μὲν ἔνεκα Ἐρινύς, ὅτι τὸ θυμῷ χρῆσθαι καλοῦσιν ἐρινύειν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, Λουσία δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ λούσασθαι τῷ Λάδωνι.

<sup>50</sup> Isocrates, *Panathenaicus* 193 : Θρῆκες μὲν γὰρ μετ' Εὐμόλπουν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος εἰσέβαλον εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν, ὃς ἡμφισβήτησεν Ἐρεχθεῖ τῆς πόλεως, φάσκων Ποσειδῶν πρότερον Ἀθηνᾶς καταλαβεῖν αὐτήν.

<sup>51</sup> Hesychius, s. v. :

Ἐρεχθεύς. Ποσειδῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις.

<sup>52</sup> Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 156-160 :

ὅν δὴ δὶς ἡβῆσαντα, καὶ βαρὺν πόθον  
φυγόντα Ναυμέδοντος ἀρπακτήριον,  
ἔστειλ' Ἐρεχθεὺς εἰς Λετριναίους γύνας  
λευρὰν ἀλετρεύσοντα Μόλπιδος πέτραν,  
τοῦ Ζηνὶ δαιτρευθέντος Ομβρίψ δέμας.

*Ibidem*, 431-2 :

τὸν δὲ αὖ τέταρτον ἐγγόνων Ἐρεχθέως,  
Αἴθωνος αὐτάδελφον ἐν πλαυσταῖς γραφαῖς.

<sup>53</sup> Apollodorus, iii, 15, 1 :

Πανδίονος δὲ ἀποθανόντος οἱ παιδεῖς τὰ πατρῷα ἐμερίσαντο, καὶ τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν Ἐρεχθεὺς λαμβάνει, τὴν δὲ ἱερωσύνην τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Ἐρεχθονίου Βούτης.

<sup>54</sup> C. I. A., i, 387 :

Ἐπιτέλης Οἰνοχάρης Σφινάτου Περγασῆτεν Ποσειδῶνι Ἐρεχθεῖ ἀνεθέτην.

<sup>55</sup> C. I. A., iii, 276 :

Ιερέως Ποσειδῶνος Γαιηρόχου καὶ Ἐρεχθέως.

<sup>56</sup> C. I. A., iii, 805 :

Γά. Ἰούλιον Σπαρτιατικὸν ἀρχιερέα θε[ῶν] Σεβαστῶν κ[αὶ γέ] νους Σε[β]αστῶν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆ[ς] Ἀχαίας διὰ βίου πρῶτον τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὁ ιερεὺς Ποσειδῶν[ος] Ἐρεχθέος Γαιηρόχου Τι. Κλαύδιος Θεογένη[ς] Παιανιεὺς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον.

<sup>57</sup> Pausanias, i, 26, 5 :

Ἐσελθοῦσι δέ εἰσι βωμοί, Ποσειδῶνος, ἐφ' οὐ καὶ Ἐρεχθεῖ θύουσιν ἐκ του μαντεύματος, καὶ ἥρωος Βούτου, τρίτος δὲ Ηφαίστου. Γραφαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων τοῦ γένους εἰσὶ τοῦ Βουταδῶν.

<sup>58</sup> Aeschines, Parapresbeia, 147 :

Ἐτεοβουτάδαις, . . . . ὅθεν ἡ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος ἐστὶν ἵέρεια.

<sup>59</sup> Pausanias, i, 17, 3 :

Μύνως ἡρίκα Θηρέει καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στόλον τῶν παιδῶν ἥγεν ἐς Κρήτην, ἐραπθεὶς Περιβοίας, ὃς οἱ Θηρέες μάλιστα ἡναιτιώντο, καὶ ἄλλη ὑπὸ ὄργῆς ἀπέρριψεν ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ παιᾶν οὐκ ἐφη Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι, ἐπεὶ οὐ δύνασθαι τὴν σφραγίδα, ἥν αὐτὸς φέρων ἔτυχεν, ἀφέντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀναστῶσι οἱ.

<sup>60</sup> Pausanias, i, 38, 2 :

τοῦτον τὸν Εῦμολπον ἀφικέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐκ Θρᾷκης Ποσειδῶνος παιᾶν δύτα καὶ Χιόνης.

<sup>61</sup> Apollodorus, iii, 15, 4 :

Χιόνη δὲ Ποσειδῶνι μίγνυται. ἡ δὲ κρύφα τοῦ πατρὸς Εῦμολπον τεκοῦσα, ἵνα μὴ γένηται κατιφανής, εἰς τὸν βυθὸν ῥίπτει τὸ παιδίον. Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἀνελόμενος εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν κομίζει καὶ δίδωσι Βενθεσικύμη τρέφειν, αὐτοῦ θυγατρὶ καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτης.

<sup>62</sup> Lycurgus, 98 :

Φασὶ γὰρ Εῦμολπον τὸν Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Χιόνης μετὰ Θρακῶν ἐλθεῖν τῆς

χώρας ταύτης ἀμφισβητοῦντα, τυχεῖν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους βασι-  
λεύοντα Ἐρεχθέα, γυναῖκα ἔχοντα Πραξιθέαν τὴν Κηφισοῦ θυγατέρα.

<sup>63</sup> Homer, Iliad, B 547 :

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον, ἐνκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,  
δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη  
θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα.

<sup>64</sup> Euripides, Ion, 1004-1009 :

ΠΑΙ. ἵσχυν ἔχοντας τίνα πρὸς ἀνθρώπον φύσιν;  
ΙΟΩΣ ΚΡ. τὸν μὲν θανάσιμον, τὸν δὲ ἀκεσφόρον νύσσων.  
ΠΑΙ. ἐν τῷ καθάψιος ἀμφὶ παιδὶ σώματος;  
ΚΡ. χρυσοῖσι δεσμοῖς· ὃ δὲ δίδωστ' ἐμῷ πατρί.  
ΠΑΙ. κείνου δὲ κατθανόντος εἰς σ' ἀφίκετο;  
ΚΡ. ναί· καπὲ καρπῷ γ' αὐτὸν ἐγὼ χερὸς φέρω.

<sup>65</sup> Pausanias, i, 24, 7 :

ἐν δὲ τῇ (ἐτέρᾳ) χειρὶ δόρυ ἔχει, καὶ οἱ πρὸς τοὺς ποσὶν ἀσπίς τε κεῖται,  
καὶ πληγίον τοῦ δάρατος δράκων ἐστίν· εἴη δὲ ἄν τοις οὐτοῖς ὁ δράκων.

<sup>66</sup> Aristophanis Lysistrata, 1. 758-9 :

ΓΥ. Γ. ἀλλ' οὐ δύναμαι γωγ' οὐδὲ κοιμᾶσθε ἐν πόλει,  
ἔξ οὐ τὸν ὄφιν εἶδον τὸν οἰκουρόν ποτε.

Scholiast, l. c. : ἔξ οὐ τὸν ὄφιν εἶδον : τὸν ἱερὸν δράκοντα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς,  
τὸν φύλακα τοῦ ναοῦ.

<sup>67</sup> Herodotus, viii, 41 : Λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκρο-  
πόλεως ἐνδιατάσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. λέγουσί τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὡς ἐόντι ἐπιμήνια  
ἐπιτελέοντι πρεγεόντες. τὰ δὲ ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσα ἔστι. αὕτη δὴ ἡ μελι-  
τόεσσα ἐν τῷ πρόσθει αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμούμενη τότε ἦν ἄψαυστος.

<sup>68</sup> Plutarch, Themistocles, x :

σημεῖον μὲν λαμβάνων τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος, ὃς ἀφανῆς ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις  
ἐκ τοῦ σηκοῦ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι· καὶ τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προτιθεμένας ἀπαρχὰς  
εὑρίσκοντες ἀψαύστους οἱ ἱερεῖς.

<sup>69</sup> Hesychius, s. v. : δράκανλος . . . . ἐπειδὴ δοκεῖ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ παρ'  
αὐτοῖς αὐδίσαι τὸν δράκοντα. Σοφοκλῆς Τυμπανισταῖς. ἡ ὅτι συνέστη  
Κέκροπι. [ἡ ὅτι εἰς δράκοντα μετεμορφώθη].

Hesychius, s. v. οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν· τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος φύλακα δράκοντα, καὶ  
οἱ μὲν ἔνα φασίν, οἱ δὲ δύο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως, τοῦτον δὲ φύλακα τῆς  
ἀκροπόλεως φασὶ(ν), ω̄ καὶ μελιτοῦτταν παρατίθεσθαι.

<sup>70</sup> Suidas, s. v. Δράκανδος :

Σοφοκλῆς Τυμπανισταῖς. ἐπεὶ ή Ἀθηνᾶ δοκεῖ παρ' αὐταῖς αὐλάνται τὸν δράκοντα ταῖς Κέκροπος θυγατράσι. ὅτι συναυλίζονται κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς Κέκροπι ὅντι διφυεῖ. ὅτι συναυλίζεται μάλισταν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει δράκοντι, προσημερέουσα τῇ θεῷ.

<sup>71</sup> Photius, s. v. : οἰκουρὸν ὅφιν· τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος φύλακα· καὶ Ἡρόδοτος· Φύλαρχος δὲ αὐτοῦ δίο.

<sup>72</sup> Eustathius on Homer's Odyssey, i, 357, p. 1422, l. 7 fl. :

Οὐ φασιν, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν καὶ οἰκουρὸς δράκων φύλαξ τῆς Πολιάδος. ἥγουν ἐν τῷ νεῷ Πολιάδος διαιτώμενος. ὁ τινὲς προπερισπώσι καθ' ὄμοιότητα τοῦ μῶρος, ἦν γὰρ οἰκοῦρος ὡς μῶρος.

<sup>73</sup> Philostratus, Imagines, ii, 17, Νῆσοι, p. 837 :

καὶ ὁ δράκων δὲ ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὁ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν ἀκροπόλει οἰκῶν δοκεῖ μοι τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἀσπάσαισθαι δῆμον ἐπὶ τῷ χρυσῷ, ὃν ἐκεῖνοι τέττιγας ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐποιοῦντο.

<sup>74</sup> Pausanias, vi, 20, 2 :

ἔστιν . . . ιερὸν Εἰλείθιας, ἐν δέ αὐτῷ Σωσίπολις Ἡλείοις ἐπιχώριος δαίμων ἔχει τιμάς. τὴν μὲν δὴ Εἰλείθιαν ἐπονομάζοντες Ὄλυμπίαν ἱερασυμένην αἴροῦνται τῇ θεῷ κατὰ ἔτος ἔκαιστον· ἣ δὲ πρεσβῦτις ἡ θεραπεύουσα τὸν Σωσίπολιν νόμῳ τε ἀγιστεύει τῷ Ἡλείων καὶ αὐτῇ, λουτρά τε ἐσφέρει τῷ θεῷ καὶ μάζας κατατίθησιν αὐτῷ μεμιγμένας μέλιτι.

<sup>75</sup> Pausanias, vi, 20, 4-5 :

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἐς τὴν Ἡλείαν ἐπβεβληκότων στρατιᾶς, καὶ τῶν Ἡλείων σφίσιν ἀντικαθημένων, γυναῖκα ἀφικομένην παρὰ τῶν Ἡλείων τοὺς στρατηγούς, νήπιον παῖδα ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ μιστῷ, λέγειν ὡς τέκοι μὲν αὐτῇ τὸν παῖδα, διδοίη δὲ ἐξ ὀνειράτων συμμαχήσαντα Ἄλειοις. Οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, πιστὰ γάρ τὴν ἀνθρωπον ἥγοῦντο εἰρηκέναι, τιθέασι τὸ παιδίον πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος γυμνόν. Ἐπηγέσαν τε δὴ οἱ Ἀρκάδες, καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἐνταῦθα ἥδη δράκων ἦν· ταριχθεῖσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θεάματι τοῖς Ἀρκάσι καὶ ἐνδοῦσιν ἐς φυγὴν ἐπέκειντο οἱ Ἡλεῖοι, καὶ νίκην τε ἐπιφανεῖστάην ἀνείλοντο καὶ δονομα τῷ θεῷ τίθενται Σωσίπολιν. ἐνθι δέ τιφιστιν ὁ δράκων ἔδοξεν ἐσδῦναι μετὰ τὴν μάχην, τὸ ιερὸν ἐποίησαν ἐνταῦθα· σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ σέβεσθαι καὶ τὴν Εἰλείθιαν ἐνόμισαν, ὅτι τὸν παῖδά τιφιστιν ἡ θεὸς αὐτῇ προήγαγεν ἐς ἀνθρώπους.

<sup>76</sup> Strabo, ix, 393 :

Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἑτέροις ὀνόμασι τὸ παλαιόν· καὶ γὰρ Σκιρὰς καὶ Κύχρεια ἀπό τυνων ἥρων, ἀφ' οὗ μὲν Ἀθηνᾶ τε λέγεται Σκιρὰς καὶ τόπος Σκίρα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ ἱεροπούα τις καὶ ὁ μὴν ὁ Σκιροφοριών· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ καὶ Κυχρείδης ὄφις, ὃν φησιν Ἡσίοδος τριφέντα ὑπὸ Κυχρέως ἔξελαθῆναι ὑπὸ Εὐρυλόχου λυμανόμενεν τὴν μῆσον, ὑποδέξασθαι δὲ αὐτὸν τὴν Δήμητρα εἰς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ γενέσθαι ταύτης ἀμφίπολον. ὀνομάσθη δὲ καὶ Πιτυούσσα ἀπὸ τοῦ φυτοῦ.

<sup>77</sup> Pausanias, i, 36, 1 :

Ἐν Σαλαμῖνι . . . . . καὶ Κυχρέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν. Ναυμαχούντων δὲ Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Μήδους δράκοντα ἐν ταῖς τανσὶ λέγεται φαινῆναι τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἔχρηστεν Ἀθηναίοις Κυχρέα εἶναι τὸν ἥρωα.

<sup>78</sup> Plutarch, Cleomenes, xxxix :

καὶ τοῦτο κατιδόντες οἱ παλαιοὶ μάλιστα τῶν ζῷων τὸν δράκοντα τοῖς ἥρωσι συνψκείωσαν.

<sup>79</sup> Pliny, Nat. Hist., xxix, 52 :

Praeterea est ovorum genus in magna fama Galliarum, omissum Graecis. Angues enim numerose convoluti salivis faucium corporumque spumis artifici complexu glomerant; urinum appellatur. Druidae sibilis id dicunt in sublime iactari sagoque oportere intercipi, ne tellurem attingat; profugere raptorem equo, serpentes enim insequiri, donec arceantur amnis alicuius interventi; experimentum eius esse, si contra aquas fluitet vel auro vinetum; atque, ut est Magorum sollertia occultandis fraudibus sagax, certa luna capiendum censem, tamquam congruere operationem eam serpentium humani sit arbitrii.

<sup>80</sup> Pausanias, iv, 14, 7-8 :

. . . . Ἀριστομένης, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἔτι ὡς ἥρως ἔχει παρὰ Μεσσηνίοις τιμάσ. καὶ οἱ καὶ τὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἐπιφανέστερα ὑπάρχειν νομίζοντι. Νικοτελείᾳ γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ δαίμονα ἡ θεὸν δράκοντι εἰκασμένον συγγενέσθαι λέγουσι. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀριστοδάμῃ Σικυωνίους οἶδα εἰρηκότας. διάφορα δὲ τοσόνδε ἥν Μεσσήνιοι γὰρ οὐκ ἔσποιοῦσιν Ἀριστομένην Ἡρακλεῖ παῖδα ἡ Διά, ὕσπερ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀμμωνι οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ Ἀρατον Ἀσκληπιῷ Σικυώνιοι.

<sup>11</sup> Suidas, s. v. Κέκροψ :

— - - - ἄλλοι δέ, ὅτι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡς ἔτιχε μισγομένων ταῖς γυναιξὶ, καὶ ἐκ τούτου μὴ γυναστοκομένου ἡ τοῦ παιδὸς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς παρὰ τοῦ παιδός, αὐτὸς νόμων θέμενος, ὥστε φινερῶς σιγγύνεσθαι αὐταῖς, καὶ μᾶς στοιχεῖν, καὶ σχεδὸν εὐρῶν τὰς δύο φίσεις τοῦ τε πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρός, εἰκότως διφυὴς ἐκλήθη.

<sup>12</sup> Harpocratior, s. v. Παναθήναι : διττὰ Παναθήναια ἥγετο Ἀθήνησι, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἔκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, τὰ δὲ διὰ πεντεηγρίδος, ἀπέρ καὶ μεγάλι ἐκάλονν. . . . ἥγιαγε δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν πρῶτος Ἐριχθόνιος ὁ Ἡφαίστου, καθά φησιν Ἑλλάνικός τε καὶ Ἀινδροτίων, ἐκάτερος ἐν αὐτῷ Ἀτθίδος. πρὸ τούτου δὲ Ἀθήναια ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς δεδήλωκεν Ἰστρος ἐν γ' τῶν Ἀττικῶν.

<sup>13</sup> Lucian, Nigrinus, 53 :

ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Παναθηναίων ληφθέντα μὲν γάρ τινα τῶν πολιτῶν ἄγεσθαι παρὰ τὸν ἀγωνισθέτην ὅτι βασπτὸν ἔχων ἴματιον ἔθεώρει.

<sup>14</sup> Harpocratior, s. v. Ἀποβάτης, καὶ ἀποβιαίνειν, καὶ ἀποβατικοὶ τροχοί :

Δείναιρχος κατὰ Φορμισίον καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντιφάνην ἀπολογίᾳ, Λυκοῦργός τε ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δημάδην ἀπολογίᾳ. ὁ ἀποβάτης ἵππικύν τι ἀγώνατμα, καὶ ἀποβῆναι τὸ ἀγωνίστασθαι τὸν ἀποβάτην, καὶ ἀποβατικοὶ τροχοὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος. τὰ δέ ἐν αὐτῷ γινόμεναι δηλοὶ θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ κ' τῶν νόμων. χρῶνται δέ φησι τούτῳ μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοί.

<sup>15</sup> Eratosthenes, Catasterismi, 13 :

Ἡνίοχος. Τοῦτον λέγουσιν, ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς ἴδων πρῶτον ἐν ἀγθράποις ἄρμα ζείζαντα ἵππων, ὃς ἔστιν Ἐριχθόνιος ἐξ Ἡφαίστου καὶ Γῆς γενόμενος, καὶ θαυμάσας ὅτι τῇ τοῦ Ἡλίου ἀντίμιμον ἐποιήσιτο διφρεύναν ὑποζεύξας ἵππους λευκούς. - - - πρῶτον τε Ἀθηνᾶ πομπὴν ἥγιεται ἐν ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἐποιήσιτο πρὸς τούτοις ἐπιφανῆ τὴν θυσίαν αὐτῆς σεμνύνιον. λέγει δὲ καὶ Εὐριπίδης περὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον Ἡφαίστον ἔρωσθέντα Ἀθηνᾶς βούλεσθαι αὐτῇ μιγῆναι, τῆς δὲ ἀποστρεφομένης καὶ τὴν παρθενίαν μᾶλλον αἴρουμένης ἐν τινι τόπῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κρύπτεσθαι, ὃν λέγουσι καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσαγορευθῆναι Ἡφαίστειον· ὃς δόξας αὐτὴν κρατήγειν καὶ ἐπιθέμενος πληγεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῷ δόρατι ἀφῆκε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, φερομένης εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς σπορᾶς· ἐξ ἣς γεγενῆσθαι λέγουσι παῦδα, ὃς ἐκ τούτου Ἐριχθόνιος ἐκλήθη, καὶ αὐξηθεὶς τοῦθ' εὗρε καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη ἀγωνιστὴς γενόμενος· ἥγαγε δὲ ἐπιμελῶς

τὰ Παναθήναια, καὶ ἄρμα ἡνιόχει ἔχων παραβάτην ἀσπίδιον ἔχοντα καὶ τριλοφίαν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς· ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ κατὰ μίμησιν ὁ κιλούμενος ἀποβάτης.

<sup>96</sup> Aristides, Panathenaicus, 107 :

καὶ ζεύγνυσιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ γῇ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ὁ τῆσδε τῆς θεοῦ πάρεδρος ἄρμα τέλειον σὺν τῇ θεῷ καὶ φινεῖ πᾶσι τὴν τελείαν ἵππικήν.

Scholion in Aristidis Panathenaicum, ed. Dind., 3, 62 :

ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ὅπιστοι αὐτῆς (τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς) γέγραπται ἄρμα ἐλαύνων, ὃς πρῶτος τοῦτο τῆς θεοῦ δεξάμενος, ἐπειδὴ τρόπου τινὰ οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἐδόκει.

<sup>97</sup> Themistius, Oratio, 27, 337 a :

Καίτοι καὶ ἵππων ἄρμα οὐ περιβαλλόμενον ζευχθῆναι λέγεται.

<sup>98</sup> Stephanus Byzantius, s. v. Ἀγραυλί : δῆμος Ἀθήνησι τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος φυλῆς. τινὲς δὲ Ἀγραυλὴ γράφοντιν ἀνευ τοῦ α, Ἀγραυλῆθεν. θέλει δὲ τὸ ἀ ἀπὸ Ἀγραύλου τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρός. τρεῖς δὲ ἡσαν, ἀπὸ τῶν αἰξόντων τοὺς καρποὺς ὀνομασμέναι, Ηάνδροσος, Ἐρση, Ἀγραυλος.

<sup>99</sup> Hesychius, s. v. : ἀγραυλοι· οἱ ἐν ἀγρῷ νυκτερεύοντες.

ἀγραύλου· ἐν ἀγρῷς αὐλιζομένου.

ἀγραυλον· ὑπαθρον, καὶ ἔρημον. ἡ ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐλιζόμενον. ἡ καπνρόν.

ἀγραυλῷ· τὸ . . . . ἐνθήρῳ τόπῳ καὶ πλήρει ἀγρειμάτων.

<sup>100</sup> Porphyrius, De Abstinentia, II, 54 :

ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν Σιλαμῖνι, πρότερον δὲ Κορωνίδι ὀνομαζομένη, μηνὶ κατὰ Κυπρίους Ἀφροδισίῳ ἐθύέτο ἀνθρωπος τῇ Ἀγραύλῳ τῇ Κέκροπος καὶ νύμφης Ἀγραυλίδος. καὶ διέμενε τὸ ἔθος ἄχρι τῶν Διομήδους χρόνων· εἶτα μετέβαλεν, ὥστε τῷ Διομήδει τὸν ἀνθρωπον θύεσθαι· οὐδὲ περίβολον ὁ τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώς καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀγραύλου καὶ Διομήδους. οὐ δὲ σφιγμαζόμενος οὐδὲ τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγόμενος τρὶς περιθεῖ τὸν βωμόν· ἐπειτα ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτὸν λόγχῃ ἐπαιειν κατὰ τοῦ στομάχου, καὶ οὐτως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν νησθεῖσαν πυρὰν ὠλοκαύτιζεν.

<sup>101</sup> C. I. A., III, 372 :

Κουροτρόφου ἐξ Ἀγλινύρου Δήμητρος.

<sup>102</sup> C. I. G., 7716. Painted on a red-figure amphora :

Κέκροψ[ψ]. Ἀγλινύρος. Ἐρέμηθος. εχθρός. ερέμηθος. ερέμηθος. ερέμηθος. Βορᾶς [Πά]νδροσος.

C. I. G., 7718. Fragment of a red-figure vase :

"Αγλαυρος.

<sup>93</sup> Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica, iv. 16. 2 (155 c) :

2. ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν Σαλαμῖνι, πρότερον δὲ Κορινθίᾳ διοριζόμενῃ, μηδὲ κατὰ Κυπρίους Ἀφροδιτίῳ, ἔθνετο ἄνθρωπος τῇ Ἀγριαύλῳ τῇ Κέκροπος καὶ τίμφης Ἀγραυλίδος. καὶ διέμενε τὸ ἔθος ἄχρι τῶν Διορήδους χρόνων ἀπα μετέβαλεν, ὥστε τῷ Διορήδει τὸν ἄνθρωπον θίεισθαι. ὑφ' ἐμὶ δὲ περίβολον ὃ τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώς καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀγριαύλου καὶ Διορήδους. ὃ δὲ σφαγιαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφίβων ἀγόμενος τρὶς περιέθει τὸν βωμόν. ἐπειτα δὲ οἱ ιερεῖς αὐτὸν λόγχῃ ἐπιει τοῦ στομάχου, καὶ οὐτως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν νησθεῖταιν πυρὶν ὠλοκαύτιζον. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεσμὸν Διύφιλος ὁ τῆς Κύπρου βιωτιλεὺς κατέλιπε, κατὰ τοὺς Σελεύκους χρόνους τοῦ θεολόγου γενόμενος. τὸ ἔθος ἐς βουθυσίαν μεταστήσας. προσήκατο δὲ ὁ δαίμων αὐτὸν ἀνθράποι τὸν βοῦν.

<sup>94</sup> Eusebius, De Laudibus Constantini, 13, p. 616 b.

ἐν δὲ Σαλαμῖνι ὑφ' ἐμὶ περίβολον Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀγριαύλιδος καὶ Διορήδους ἐλαυνόμενός τις ἀνὴρ τρὶς περιέθει τὸν βωμόν, ἐπειτα δὲ οἱ ιερεῖς αὐτὸν λόγχῃ ἐπιει τοῦ στομάχου, καὶ οὐτως οὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν νησθεῖταιν πυρὶν ὠλοκαύτιζεν.

<sup>95</sup> Scholia in Demosthenis xix, 303 :

καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγριαύλου] ἐγτι μὲν μά. τῶν Κέκροπος θυγατέρων ἡ Ἀγραυλος. ἐν δὲ τῷ τεμένει αὐτῆς οἱ ἔξιώντες εἰς τοὺς ἐφίβωτος ἐκ πιάδων μετὰ πανοπλῶν ὅμνυνος ὑπερμαχεῖν ἄχρι θανάτου τῆς θρεψαμένης. ἡ δὲ ιστορία αὐτη· Ἀγραυλος καὶ Ἐραγη καὶ Πάνδροισος θυγατέρες Κέκροπος, ὡς φησιν δὲ Φιλόχορος. λέγοντι δὲ ὅτι, πολέμου συμβάντος παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτε Εῦμολπος ἐστράτευτε κατὰ Ἐρεχθίως, καὶ μαρκυρομένου τούτου, ἔχρηστεν δὲ Ἀπόλλων ἀπαλλαγήσειται, ἐάν τις ἀνέλῃ ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως. ἡ τούτους Ἀγραυλος ἑκοῦσα αὐτὴν ἐξέδωκεν εἰς θάνατον ἔρριψε γὰρ ἑαυτὴν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους. ἐπι ταπιλαιγέντες τοῦ πολέμου ιερὸν ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐστήσαντο αὐτῇ παρὰ τὰ πρωτύλααι τῆς πόλεως· καὶ ἐκεῖσε ὅμινον οἱ ἐφῆβοι μέλλοντες ἐξένειν εἰς πόλεμον.

<sup>96</sup> Suidas, s. v. Ἀρεως πάγος : - - - - "Ἀρεως δέ, ἐπεὶ τὰ φυτικὰ δικάζει, δὲ Ἀρης ἐπὶ τῶν φύων. ἡ ὅτι ἐπηξε τὸ δόρυ ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ποσειδῶνα ὑπὲρ Ἀλιρρόθιον δίκη, ὅτε ἀπέκτεινε αὐτὸν βιωτάμενον Ἀλκίπτην τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀγριαύλου τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρός, ὡς φησιν Ἐλλάνικος ἐν α'.

<sup>97</sup> Ovid, Metamorphoses, ii, 825-832 :

Utque malum late solet immedicabile cancer  
Serpere, et illaesas vitiatis addere partes,  
Sic letalis hiemis paulatim in pectora venit  
Vitalesque vias et respiramiua clatisit.  
Non conata loqui est, nec, si conata fuisset,  
Vocis habebat iter. Saxum iam colla tenebat,  
Oraque duruerant, signumque exsangue sedebat.  
Nec lapis albūs erat : sua mens infecerat illam.

<sup>98</sup> Scholion in Sophoclis Oedipum Coloneum, 1053 :

- - - Εὔμολπον γὰρ γενέσθαι Κήρυκι, τοῦ δὲ Εὔμολπον, τοῦ δὲ Ἀντίφημον, τοῦ δὲ Μουσάνον τὸν ποιητήν, τοῦ δὲ Εὔμολπον τὸν καταδείξαντα τὴν μύησιν καὶ ἱεροφάντην γεγονότα.

<sup>99</sup> Plutarchi, Alcibiades, 34 :

“ Ήι γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ κατέπλευσεν ἐδράτο τὰ Πλυντήρια τῇ θεῷ. Δρῶσι δὲ τὰ ὄργια Πραξιεργίδαι Θαργηλιῶνος ἔκτη φθίνοντος ἀπόρρητα, τόν τε κόσμον καθελόντες καὶ τὸ ἔδος κατακαλύψαντες.

<sup>100</sup> Phiotius, Lexicon, s. v. Καλλυντήρια καὶ πλυντήρια :

ἐορτῶν ὀνόματα· γύνονται μὲν αὗται Θαργηλιῶνος μηνός, ἐννάτῃ μὲν ἐπὶ δέκα καλλυντήρια, δευτέρῃ δὲ φθίνοντος τὰ πλυντήρια· τὰ μὲν πλυντήριά φησι διὰ (τὸ μετὰ) τὸν θάνατον τῆς Ἀγρανύλου ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὴ πλυθῆναι (τὰς ιερὰς) ἐσθῆτας, κτλ.

<sup>101</sup> Bekker, Anecdota Graeca, i, 270 :

“ Αγρανύλος γὰρ ιέρεια πρώτη γενομένη τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκόσμησε. Πλυντήρια δὲ καλεῖται διὰ τὸ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τῆς Ἀγρανύλου ἐνὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὴ πλυθῆναι τὰς ιερὰς ἐσθῆτας.

<sup>102</sup> Xenophontou, Hell., i, 4, 12 :

κατέπλευστεν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρᾳ γῇ Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῦ ἔδους κατικεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃ τινες οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου ἔργουν τολμήσαι ἀν ἀψασθαι.

<sup>103</sup> C. I. A., ii, 469, ll. 4 - - - 9 f :

ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι . . . ἔξήγαγον δὲ κ[αὶ τ]ὴν Παλλάδια Φ[αληροῖ κάκεῖθεν πάλιν σινει] σήγαγον μετὰ [φ]ωτὸς [μετὰ πάσ]ης εὐκοσμίας.

<sup>104</sup> Suidas, iv, p. 1273, 7 :

οἱ δὲ νομοφύλακες . . . καὶ τῇ Παλλάδι τὴν πομπὴν ἐκόσμουν, ὅτε κομίζοιτο τὸ ξάνον ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν.

<sup>105</sup> Photius, Lexicon, s. v. Λοντρίδες :

δύο κόραι περὶ τὸ ἔδος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ αὐταὶ καὶ πλυντρίδες· οὐτως Ἀριστοφάνης.

<sup>106</sup> Hesychius, s. v. Πραξιεργίδαι :

οἱ τὸ ἔδος τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀμφιεινύντες.

<sup>107</sup> Etymologicum Magniū, p. 494, 25, s. v. κατανίπτης :

\* Η ἐπώνυμον τινός, ἡ ἱερωσύνη Ἀθήνης, ὡς τὰ κάτω τοῦ πέπλου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ῥυπαινόμενα ἀποπλύνων.

<sup>108</sup> C. I. A., ii, 1369 :

Ἀγλαύρον ἱέρεια Φειδοστράτη Ἐτεοκλέοντος Λιθαιλίδου θυγάτηρ.

<sup>109</sup> Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, 141 :

ἱέρειαν Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ ὑπομνηματισμὸν τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς καὶ ἐπερώτημα τῆς βουλῆς τῶν φ' καὶ τοῦ δήμου, τὸ γένος τὸ Πραξιεργιδῶν Σαβενιανῆς Ἀμιλλών (?) , εἰνεβέσια, τῆς περὶ τὴν Θέουν ἔνεκεν.

<sup>110</sup> Hesychius, s. v. Ἡγητηρία :

πιλάθη σύκων· ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἑορτῇ Πλυντηρίων φέροντι πιλάθην συγκειμένην ἐξ ισχάδων διὰ τὸ τοὺς αὐτόχθονας ἡμερον καρπὸν φυγεῖν πρῶτον τῶν σύκων.

<sup>111</sup> Herodotus, viii, 53 :

ταύτη ἀνέβησάν τινες κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καὶ τοι περ ἀποκρύμνουν ἔόντος τοῦ χώρου.

<sup>112</sup> Polyaeus, i, 21, 2 :

οἱ ἐπίκουροι προελθόντες ἀράμενοι τὰ ὅπλα κατήνεγκαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀγραύλου.

<sup>113</sup> Plutarch, Alcibiades, 15 :

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γῆς συνεβούλευεν ἀντέχεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναῖς, καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀγραύλου προβαλλόμενον ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις ὄρκον ἔργῳ βεβιων. Ὁμνύσουσι γὰρ ὄροις χρήσισθαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς πυροῦς, κριθαῖς, ἀμπέλοις, ἐλαῖαις, οἰκείαιν ποιεῖσθαι διδασκόμενοι τὴν ἡμερον καὶ καρποφόρον.

<sup>114</sup> Demosthenes, xix, 303 :

τίς δ τοὺς μακροὺς καὶ καλοὺς λόγους δημιγορῶν, καὶ τὸ Μιλτιάδου καὶ τὸ Θεμιστοκλέοντος ψήφισμα ἀναγιγνώσκων καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ τῷ τῆς Ἀγλαύρου τῶν ἐφήβων ὄρκον;

<sup>115</sup> Lycurgus, contra Læcocratem, 76 :

νῦν γὰρ ἔστιν ὄρκος, ὃν ὁμονύμουσι πάντες οἱ πολῖται, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὸ ληξι-  
αρχικὸν γραμματέων ἐγγραφῶσι καὶ ἔφηβοι γένωνται, μήτε τὰ ίερὰ ὄπλα  
κατασχνεῖν μήτε τὴν τύξιν λείψειν, ἀμνυεῖν δὲ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἀμείνῳ παρα-  
δώσειν.

<sup>116</sup> Scholion in Aristophanis Thesmophoriazusas, 533 :

κατὰ τῆς Ἀγραύλου ὄμνυνον· κατὰ δὲ τῆς Παιδρόσου οπανιώτερον.  
κατὰ δὲ τῆς Ἐρσης οὐχ ἐνρήκαμεν.

<sup>117</sup> Hesychius, s. v. "Αγλανρος :

θυγάτηρ Κέκροπος. παρὰ δὲ Ἀττικοῖς καὶ ὁμονύμουσιν κατ' αὐτῆς. ἦν δὲ  
ἱέρεια τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

<sup>118</sup> Pollux, viii, 105-106 :

καὶ ὄμνυνον (οἱ ἔφηβοι) ἐν Ἀγραύλον· οὐ κατασχνῶ τὰ ὄπλα, οὐδὲ  
ἐγκαταλεύψω τὸν παραστάτην, φῶ ἀν στοιχῷ, ἀμυνῶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ίερῶν καὶ  
ὅσιων καὶ μόνος καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα οὐκ ἐλάττω παρι-  
δώσω, πλεύσω δὲ καὶ καταρόσω, ὑπόστην ἀν παραδέξωμαι· καὶ συνήσω τῶν  
ἀεὶ κρυνόντων, καὶ τοῖς θεσμοῖς τοῖς ἰδρυμένοις πείσομαι, καὶ οὐς τινας  
ἄλλους ἰδρύσεται τὸ πλῆθος ἐμφρόνως· καὶ ἂν τις ἀναιρῇ τοὺς θεσμοὺς ἢ  
μὴ πείθηται, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω, ἀμυνῶ δὲ καὶ μόνος καὶ μετὰ πάντων· καὶ τὰ  
ίερὰ τὰ πάτρια τιμήσω. Ἰστορεῖς θεοί, Ἀγραύλος, Ἐινυάλιος, Ἀρης, Ζεύς,  
Θαλλώ, Αὐξώ, Ἡγεμόνη.

<sup>119</sup> Pausanias, i, 27, 3 :

Παρθένοι δίο τοῦ νιοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρρω, καλοῦστι δὲ  
Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς ἀρρηφόρους· αὐται χρόνον μέν τινα δίαιταν ἔχουσι παρὰ τῇ  
θεῷ, παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς ἔօρτῆς δρῶσιν ἐν νικτὶ τοιάδε· ἀναθεῖσαι σφισιν  
ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἢ ἡ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια δίδωσι φέρειν, οὕτε ἡ διδοῦστα ὅποιόν  
τι δίδωσιν εἰδιῆι, οὕτε ταῖς φερούγιαις ἐπισταμέναις. Ἐστι δὲ περίβολος ἐν  
τῇ πόλει τῆς καλονιμένης ἐν Κήποις Ἀφροδίτης οὐ πόρρω, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ  
κάθιδος ὑπόγυμος αὐτομάτῃ ταύτη κατίστιν αἱ παρθένοι· κάπτω μὲν δὴ τὰ  
φερόμενα λείποιτιν, λιβανῦσαι δὲ ἄλλο τι κομίζουσιν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον. Καὶ  
τὰς μὲν ἀφιάστιν ἥδη τὸ ἐντεῦθεν, ἐτέρις δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παρθένους  
ἄγοντιν ἀντ' αἰτῶν.

<sup>120</sup> C. I. A., ii, 1379 :

[Α]θη[νᾶ] Ἀπο[λα]ύ[ων] - - - [Α]φιδνιο[ς] τὴν θ[εό]ν γατέρα  
Α[ν]θεμί[αν] κ[αὶ] ὁ θεῖος Οὐλο[άδης καὶ] ἡ μήτηρ Φιλω[τέρα]  
ἐ[ρρη]φορήσασα [ν ἀ]νέθηκαν.

<sup>121</sup> C. I. A., ii, 1383 :

Ἄθη[ν] καὶ [Πα]νδρόσῳ - - - ος Διονεστικλέους Τρινεμεεὺς [τὴ]ν θυγατέρα Φίλαν ἀνέθηκεν ἐφρήγφορήσασιν.

<sup>122</sup> C. I. A., ii, 1385 :

Ἄθην[α] Ἀγίας Νικάρχου Εὐωνυμεὺς τὴν θυγατέρα Ξεινοστράτην ἐφρήγφοροῦσαν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Δημ[η]τρία Βουλώνος Πανιτέω[ς] θυγάτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Ἀ[ρά]κετος Ἐπικράτης Βουλῶν Ξενοφῶν ἀνέθηκαν.

<sup>123</sup> C. I. A., ii, 1390 :

Παναρίσταν Μαντίον Μαραθωνί[ον ὁ πατὴρ]  
καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Θεοδότη Δωσιθέου ἐ[γ] Μιρινούττης]  
θυγάτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Κλεομένη[ης καὶ - - -]  
ἐ]ρήγφορήσασιν Ἀθην[α] Πολαί[δι καὶ Πανδρόσῳ]  
ἀνέθηκαν.

<sup>124</sup> C. I. A., iii, 887 :

. . . [τὴν ἔαυτῶν] θυγατέρα Να[υ]σιστράτην ἐ[ρήγφορήσασιν Ἀθην[α]]  
Πολιάδι καὶ Πανδρόσῳ[ῳ ἀνέθηκαν ἐ]πὶ ιερήις Καλλιττ[οῖς].

<sup>125</sup> Hesychius, s. v. Ἐφρήγφόροι :

οἱ τῇ Ἐρσῃ ἐπιτελοῦντες τὰ νομιζόμενα.

<sup>126</sup> Moeris, s. v. Ἐρρηγφόροι :

Ἀττικῶς, αἱ τὴν δράγον φέρουσαι τῇ Ἐρσῃ, ἵτις ἦν μία τῶν Κεκροπίδων.

<sup>127</sup> C. I. A., iii, 902 :

Ἐρρηγφόρον πατήρ με, πότια, σ[οί, θεί.]  
Σαραπίων μόγτηρ τ' ἔθηκ[ε Χ]ρη[στή]  
τὴν σήν, Θεαν[ώ]. πέντε καὶ [συναίροντες.]  
δός δ' οὖς μὲν ἡβῆν, οὖς δ[ε] γηράσκειν καλῶς]

<sup>128</sup> C. I. A., ii, 453 b. (p. 418) :

13. ἐπ] ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔαυτῶν θυγατ[έρα - - - - εἰς τὰ]

Ἐπιδαύρια ἀφρήγφοροῦσαν βουλό[μενος - - - - τὰς]

πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμάς, κτλ.

<sup>129</sup> C. I. A., iii, 822 a. (p. 505) :

Ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς τῶν φ' Τελέτη Γλιύκου Κηφευτιέως θυ(γάτηρ),  
ἀρρηγφορήσασα, τὸν ἔαυτῆς υ[ἱ]ὸν Γλιύκον Μ[έ]μνονο[ς Ἀν]αφλύστιον,  
αἰτησαμέ[νον το]ῦ ἀνδρὸς Κλ(αυδίων) Ἀττι[κοῦ . . . . .]

<sup>130</sup> Scholion in Aristophanis Lysistratam, 642 :

ἡρρηγφόρουν : Οἱ μὲν διὰ τοῦ α, ἀρρηγφούα, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἀρρηγτα ἐν κύσταις

ἔφερον τῇ θεῷ αἱ παρθένοι. οἱ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἐρσεφορίᾳ. τῇ γὰρ Ἔρση πομπεύουσι, τῇ Κέκροπος θυγατρὶ, ὡς ἵστορεῖ Ἰστρος.

<sup>131</sup> Suidas, 320, s. v. Ἀρρήφορίᾳ :

θυσία. εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦ ἄλφα, Ἀρρήφορίᾳ ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἄρρητα ἐν κίνταις ἔφερον τῇ Θεῷ αἱ παρθένοι. εἰ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἑ, Ἔρσεφορίᾳ. τῇ γὰρ Ἔρση ἐπόμπευον τῇ Κέκροπος θυγατρὶ. Καὶ Ἀρρήφόροις, καὶ Ἀρρήφόροις, αἱ τὰ ἄρρητα φέρουσαι μναστήρια. Ἀρρήφοροις καὶ παναγεῖς γυναῖκες.

<sup>132</sup> Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 640-3 :

ΧΟΡ. ΓΥΝ.

εἰκότως, ἐπεὶ χλιδῶσαν ἀγλαῶς ἔθρεψέ με.  
ἐπτὰ μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ' εὐθὺς ἡρρηφόρων.  
εἰτ' ἀλετρίς ἡ δεκέτις οὐσα τάρχηγέτι.  
κιτ' ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἡ Βραυρωνίοις.

<sup>133</sup> Hagnocration, s. v. ἀρρηφορεῖν :

Δείγαρχος κατὰ Πευθέον, τέσσαρες μὲν ἔχειροτονοῦντο δι' εὐγένειαν ἀρρηφόροι, δύο δὲ ἐκρίνοντο, αἱ τῆς ὑφῆς τοῦ πέπλου ἡρχον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν. λευκὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτη ἐφόροιν. εἰ δὲ χρυσία περιέθεντο, οιρὰ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο.

<sup>134</sup> Hesychius, s. v. Ἀρρήφορίᾳ :

ἔκατέρως λέγονται οἱ συγγραφεῖς. κανὸν μὲν διὰ τοῦ ἐρρηφορίᾳ, διὰ τὸ τῆς Ἔρσης ἐγκατειλῆται τὴν πομπήν. ἐὰν δὲ διὰ τοῦ αἱ, ἐπεὶ ἐπ' ἄρρητοις οινέστη.

<sup>135</sup> Suidas, 319, s. v., Ἀρρήνοφορεῖν (Ἀρρήφορεῖν) :

τέσσαρες μὲν ἔχειροτονοῦντο τῶν εὐγενῶν, δύο δὲ ἐκρίνοντο, αἱ τινες ἡρχον τῆς ὑφῆς τοῦ πέπλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτήν. λευκὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα ἐφόρουν. εἰ δὲ χρυσία περιέθεντο, οιρὰ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο.

<sup>136</sup> Suidas, 823, s. v. ἐπιώψιτο :

κατέλεξεν, ἔξελεξετο. ἔστι δὲ Ἀττικόν. ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιώψιτο ἀρρηφόροις. οἷον, κιτέλεξεν, ἔξελεξετο. Πλάτων ἐν Νόμοις.

<sup>137</sup> Etymologicum Magnum, 149, 13, s. v. Ἀρρηφόροι καὶ Ἀρρηφορίᾳ :

Ἐορτὴ ἐπιτελουμένη τῇ Ἀθηνῇ, ἐν Σκιρροφοριῶν μηνί. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ε, ἐρρηφορίᾳ. Παρὰ τὸ ἄρρητα καὶ μναστήρια φέρειν. Ἡ ἐὰν διὰ τοῦ Ε, παρὰ τὴν Ἔρσην\* τὴν Κέκροπος θυγατέρα, ἐρσηφορίᾳ. Ταῦτη γὰρ ἡγον τὴν ἐορτήν.

<sup>138</sup> *Etymologicum Magni*, p. 149, 18, s. v. Ἀρρήφορεῖν :

Τὸ χρυσῆν ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν, καὶ χρυσάν τέσσαρες δὲ παιδεῖς ἔχειροτονοῦντο κατ' εὐγένειαν ἀρρηφόρου ἀπὸ ἑτῶν ἐπτὰ μέχρις ἔνδεκι. Τοιάτων δὲ διο διεκρίνοντο, οἷς διὰ τῆς ὑφῆς τοῦ ιεροῦ πέπλου ἥρχοντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. Λευκὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα ἐφόρουν καὶ χρυσά.

<sup>139</sup> Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, i, 446, s. v. Ἀρρηφορεῖν :

τέσσαρες μὲν ἔχειροτονοῦντο τῶν εὐγενῶν, δέο δὲ ἐκρίνοντο, αἱ τινες ἥρχον τῆς ὑφῆς τοῦ πέπλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτήν. λευκὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα ἐφόρουν. εἰ δὲ χρυσά περιέθεντο, ιερὰ τιπέτι ἐγένοντο.

<sup>140</sup> *Pollux*, x, 191 :

ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐλένη πλεκτὸν ἀγγεῖον σπάρτινον, τὰ χείλη οἰστίνον, ἐν φέρουσιν ιερὰ ἄρρητα τοῦς Ἐλευνηφορίοις. εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ιερῶν σκευῶν, ἔστι μὲν ὑφάσματα, καλεῖται δὲ ὑστριαινόν, προτύπιον, ἡμίμιτρον, ποδῶνυχον ἢ ἐσθῆτας ιερέως τῆς Παιδράστιας.

<sup>141</sup> *Athenaeus*, iii, 80, p. 114, a :

Κράτης δὲ ἐν β' Ἀττικῆς Διαλέκτου, θάργηλον καλεῖσθαι τὸν ἐκ τῆς συγκομιδῆς πρῶτον γινόμενον ἄρτον—καὶ τὸν ΣΙΣΩΜΙΤΗΝ. οὐχ ἐώρικε δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν ΑΝΑΣΤΑΤΟΝ καλούμενον, ὃς ταῖς ἀρρηφόροις γίνεται.

<sup>142</sup> *C. I. A.*, i, 430 :

ΑΙΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ : ΕΡΣΟ :

Ἄπολλωνος Ἔρσου

<sup>143</sup> *Aeschylus*, *Agamemnon*, 140, ff :

τόσον περ εὖφρων, καλά,  
δρόσουσι λεπτοῖς μιλερῶν λεόντων,  
πάντων τ' ἀγρονόμων φιλομάγτων  
θηρῶν ὀβρικάλουσι τερπνά, κτλ.

<sup>144</sup> *Etymologicum Magni*, p. 377, 38, s. v. Ἔρσαι :

Αἱ ἐν ἕαρι γεννηθεῖσαι ἢ αἱ ἀπαλαὶ καὶ τελείως νέαι, μεταφορικῶς, ὡς Ἀριστόνικος ἐν Σημείοις. Ἔρση γάρ ἔστιν ἡ δρόσος. Καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι (v. 141) τοὺς σκύμνους τῶν λεόντων δρόσους κέκληκε, μεταφράζων τοῦτο. - -

<sup>145</sup> *Scholiast on Iocian, Dialogi Meretricii*, II, 1 :

Θεσμαφόρια ἔορτὴ Ἑλλήνων μυστήρια περιέχουσα, τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ σκιρροφόρια καλεῖται. ἥγετο δὲ κατὰ τὸν μυθωδέστερον λύγον, ὅτι, <ὅτε>

ἀνθολογοῦσα ἡρπάζετο ἡ Κόρη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ηλούτωνος, τότε κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον Εὐβουλεύς τις συβώτης ἔνεμεν ὃς καὶ συγκατεόθησαν τῷ χάσματι τῆς Κόρης· εἰς οὖν τιμὴν τοῦ Εὐβουλέως ῥιπτεῖσθαι τὸν χούρους εἰς τὰ χάσματα τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης. τὰ δὲ σπαέντα τῶν ἐμβληθέντων εἰς τὰ μέγαρα κάτω ἀναφέρουσιν ἀντλήτραι καλούμεναι γυναῖκες κιθηρεύσασαι τριῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὰ ἀδυτα καὶ ἀνενέγκασαι ἐπιτιθέασιν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν· ὃν νομίζουσι τὸν λαμβάνοντα καὶ τῷ σπόρῳ συγκαταβάλλοντα εὐφορίαν ἔχειν. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ δράκοντας κάτω εἶναι περὶ τὰ χάσματα, οὓς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν βληθέντων κατεπιθίειν· διὸ καὶ κρύτον γίνεσθαι, ὅπόταν ἀντλῶσιν αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ ὅταν ἀποτιθῶνται πάλιν τὰ πλάσματα ἐκεῖνα, ἵνα ἀναχωρήσωσιν οἱ δράκοντες, οὓς νομίζουσι φρουροὺς τῶν ἀδύτων. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἀρρητοφόραι καλεῖται καὶ ἄγεται τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἔχοντα περὶ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν γενέτεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σπορᾶς. ἀναφέρονται δὲ κανταῦθι ἄρρητα ιερὰ ἐκ στέατος τοῦ σίτου κατεισκευασμένα, μιμήματα δρακόντων καὶ ἀνδρείων σχημάτων. λαμβάνουσι δὲ κώρουν θιλλοὺς διὰ τὸ πολύγυον τοῦ φυτοῦ. ἐμβάλλονται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ μέγαρα οὐτως καλούμενα ἀδυτα ἐκεῖνά τε καὶ χοῦροι, ὃς ἥδη ἔφαμεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ πολύτοκον εἰς σύνθημα τῆς γενέτεως τῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἷον χαριστήρια τῇ Δήμητρι, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Δημητρίους καρποὺς παρέχουσα ἐποίησεν ἡμερον τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος. ὃ μὲν οὖν ἄνω τῆς ἑορτῆς λόγος ὁ μιθικός, ὃ δὲ προκείμενος φυσικός. Θεσμοφόραι δὲ καλεῖται, καθότι θεσμοφόρος ἡ Δημήτηρ κατονομάζεται τιθέντα νύμους ἥτινα θεσμούς, καθ' οὓς τὴν τροφὴν ποριζευσθαί τε καὶ κατεργάζεισθαι ἀνθρώπους δέον.

<sup>146</sup> Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus*, ii, 17:

Ταύτην τὴν μυθολογίαν αἱ γυναῖκες ποικίλως κατὰ πόλιν ἑορτάζουσιν, Θεσμοφόραι, Σκιροφόραι, Ἀρρηφόραι, πολυτρόπως τὴν Φερρεφάττης ἐκτραγῳδοῦσαι ἀρπαγῆν.

<sup>147</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, xxviii, 77 and 78:

Post haec nullus est modus. iam primum abigi grandines turbinesque contra fulgura ipsa mense nudato; sic averti violentiam caeli, in navigando quidem tempestates etiam sine mensbris. ex ipsis vero mensibus, monstrificis alias, ut suo loco indicavimus, dira et infanda vaticinantur, e quibus dixisse non pudeat, si in defectus lunae solisve congruat vis illa, inremediablem fieri, non segnitus et in silente luna, coitusque tum maribus

exitiales esse atque pestiferos, purpuram quoque eo tempore ab iis pollui; tanto vim esse maiorem. quocumque autem alio menstruo si nudatae segetem ambient, urucas et vermiculos scarabaeosque ac noxia alia decidere Metrodorus Scepsius in Cappadocia inventum prodit ob multitudinem cantharidum, ire ergo per media arva reiectis super clunes vestibus. alibi servatur, ut nudis pedibus eant capillo cinctuque dissoluto.

<sup>148</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, xvii, 266 :

Multi et has et talpas amureas necant, contraque urucas et, ne mala putrescant, lacerti viridis felle tangi caecumina iubent, privatim autem contra urueas ambiri arbores singulas a muliere incitati mensis, nudis pedibus, recineta.

<sup>149</sup> Aelian, *de Natura Animalium*, vi, 36 :

Αἱ κάμπαι (caterpillars) ἐπινέμονται τὰ λάχανα, τάχα δὲ καὶ διαφθείρουσιν αὐτά. ἀπόλλυται δὲ αὐται, γινη τὴν ἐπιμήνιον κάθαρισιν καθαρομένη εἰ διέλθοι μέση τῶν λαχάνων.

<sup>150</sup> Columella, *de Cultu Hortorum*, x, 357-362 :

At si nulla valet medicina repellere pestem,  
Dardaniae veniant artes, nudataque plantas  
Femina, quae iustis tum demum operata iuventae  
Legibus, obscaeno manat pudibunda cruento,  
Sed resoluta sinus, resoluto maesta capillo,  
Ter circum areolas, et saepem ducitur horti.

Columella, xi, 3, 64 :

Sed Democritus in eo libro, qui Graece inscribitur περὶ ἀντι-  
παθῶν, affirmat, has ipsas bestiolas enecari, si mulier, quae in  
menstruis est, solutis erinibus et nudo pede unquamque aream  
ter circumeat: post hoc enim decidere omnes vermiculos, et ita  
emori.

<sup>151</sup> Palladius, *de re rustica*, i, 35, 3 :

Aliqui mulierem menstruantem, nusquam cinctam, solutis  
capillis, nudis pedibus contra erucas et cetera hortum faciunt  
circumire.

<sup>152</sup> Pausanias, i, 27, 1 :

Κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἐρμῆς ξύλον, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγό-  
μενον ἀνάθημα, ὑπὸ κλάδων μυρσίνης οὐ σύνοπτον.

<sup>153</sup> Harpocr. s. v. ἐπίβοιον :

Φιλόχορος ἐν δευτέρῳ φησὶν οὕτως. Ἐὰν δέ τις τῇ Ἀθηνῇ θύῃ βοῦν, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ τῇ Πανδώρᾳ (Βεκκ. Πανδρόσῳ) θύειν ὅιν (μετὰ βούς), καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ θῦμα ἐπίβοιον.

<sup>154</sup> Photius and Suidas, s. v. προτόνιον :

ἱματίδιον ὃ ἡ ἱέρεια ἀμφιέννυται ἐπιτίθεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱέρειας τῷ σφάττοντι προτόνιον δὲ ἐκλήθη, ὅτι πρώτη Πάνδροσος (var. read. Πανδώρα) μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κατεσκεύασε τοῖς δινθρώποις τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων ἐσθῆτα.

Hesychius, s. v. προτόνιον :

ὑφασμα, also a gloss between προγονεῖσαι and πρόγονοι says: προγονάν· τῶν ἡπορημένων ἡ λέξις. ἐστι δὲ ὑφασμάτιον ποικίλον, ὃ ἐπὶ καλυψάμενος ὁ μάγειρος θύει, ὃς ἐν Δαμασκῷ.

<sup>155</sup> C. I. A., i, 322, l. 45 :

τῶν κιώνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τούχου τοῦ πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου. cf. also ll. 63 and 70.

<sup>156</sup> C. I. A., iv, 1 p. 151 :

ἐπὶ τὸ [μ πρ]ὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου αἰετόν.

<sup>157</sup> Dionysius Halicarnassensis, de Dinarcho 3; Philochorus, fr. 146 :

Κύων εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεῶν εἰτελθοῦσι καὶ δῦσα εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσειον, ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβᾶσι τοῦ Ἐρκείου Διὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ ἐλαίᾳ κατέκειτο. πάτριον δὲ ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναῖσι, κύνι μὴ ἀνιβαίνειν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν.

<sup>158</sup> Pausanias, i, 27, 3 :

Τῷ ναῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς σινεχής ἐστι· καὶ ἐστι Πάνδροσος ἐς τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἀναύτιος τῶν ἀδελφῶν μόνη.

<sup>159</sup> C. I. A., ii, 481 :

Ἐνυσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ Συλλεῖ[α] κ[αὶ ἐκα]λιέρησαν, ὅμοιοις δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔξιτητήραι ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῇ τε Ἀθηνῇ τῇ Πολιάδι καὶ τῇ Κονρ[οτρό]φῳ καὶ τῇ Πανδρόσ[ῳ καὶ] ἐκαλλιέρησαν.

<sup>160</sup> Scholion in Aristophanis Lysistratam 439 :

ἐκ τῆς Πανδρόσου δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ Πάνδροσος καλεῖται.

<sup>161</sup> Pausanias, ix, 35, 2 :

Τιμῶσι γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Χάριτας Αὔξω καὶ Ἡγεμόνην. τὸ γὰρ τῆς Καρποῦς ἐστιν οὐ Χάριτος ἀλλὰ Ὄρας ὄνομα· τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν

Ορῶν νέμουσιν ὁμοῦ τῇ Πανδρόσῳ τιμᾶς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, Θαλλῷ τὴν θεᾶν δινομάζοντες.

<sup>162</sup> [Plutarch], Deceim Oratorum Vitae, p. 839 b. (Isocrates.) : ἀνάκειται γὰρ ἐν ἀκροπόλει χαλκὸς ἐν τῇ σφαιρίστρᾳ τῶν Ἀρρηφόρων κελητίζων ἔτι πᾶς ὅν, ὡς εἰπόν τινες.

<sup>163</sup> Apollodorus, iii, 14, 1 :

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἦκεν Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ ποιησαμένη τῆς καταλήψεως Κέκροπα μάρτυρα ἐφίτευσεν ἐλαύν, ἢ νῦν ἐν τῷ Πανδροσείῳ δείκνυται.

<sup>164</sup> Ovid, Metamor., ii, 737-39 :

Pars secreta domus ebore et testudine cultos

Tres habuit thalamos, quorum tu, Pandrose, dextrum,

Aglaurus laevum, medium possederat Herse.

<sup>165</sup> Plutarch, Quaestiones Conviviales, 650 b :

δροιοβολεῖ γὰρ ταῖς πατσελίνοις μάλιστα διατηκόμενος, ὡς που καὶ Ἀλκμὰν ὁ μελοποιὸς αἰνιττόμενος τὴν δράστον ἀέρος θυγατέρι καὶ σελήνης.

‘οἷα (φησί) Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔρισι τρέφει καὶ δίνει σελάνας.’

οὕτῳ πανταχόθεν μαρτυρεῖται τὸ τῆς σελήνης φῶς ἄγαν ὑγραντικὴν ἔχον καὶ μαλακτικὴν δύναμιν.

<sup>166</sup> Suidas, s. v. Κουροτρόφος Γῆ :

ταύτη δὲ θῆσιά φιστὶ τὸ πρῶτον Ἐριχθόνιον ἐν Ἀκροπόλει, καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρύσασθαι, χάριν ἀποδιδόντα τῇ Γῇ τῶν τροφείων.

<sup>167</sup> Hesychius, s. v. Ἀγλαυρίδες :

Μοῖραι (MS. μύραι) παρ' Ἀθηναίοις.

<sup>168</sup> Hesychius, s. v. Ηλυντήραι :

έορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν, ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀγραύλου τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς τιμῆς ἄγουσιν.

<sup>169</sup> Photius, Lexicon, s. v. Παναθήναια :

Ἀθήνησιν ἔορτὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπὸ Θησέως γενομένῳ συνοικισμῷ, πρὸ τοῦ Ἐριχθονίου τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ Γῆς.

<sup>170</sup> Suidas, s. v. χιλκεῖα :

έορτὴ Ἀθήνησι, ἄπειν Ἀθήναια καλοῦσιν . . . . ὑστερον δὲ ὑπὸ μόνων ἥγετο τῶν τεχνιτῶν, ὅτι ὁ Ἡφαίστος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ χιλκὸν εἰργάσιτο. ἔστι δὲ ἔνη καὶ νέα τοῦ Πινακεψιῶνος· ἐν ἥ καὶ οἱέρειαι μετὰ τῶν ἀρρηφόρων

τὸν πέπλον διάζονται . . . . Φανόδημος· δέ φησιν οὐκ Ἀθηνᾶ ἄγεσθαι τὴν ἔορτήν, ἀλλ' Ἡφαιστῷ.

<sup>111</sup> Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, i, 239:

δειπνοφορία γάρ ἔστι τὸ φέρειν δεῖπνα ταῖς Κέκροπος θυγατράσιν Ἐρση καὶ Πανδρόση καὶ Ἀγραύλῃ. ἐφέρετο δὲ πολυτελῶς κατά τινα μυστικὸν λόγον. καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίουν οἱ πολλοί· φιλοτιμίας γὰρ εἴχετο.



FIG. I.





FIG. 2.

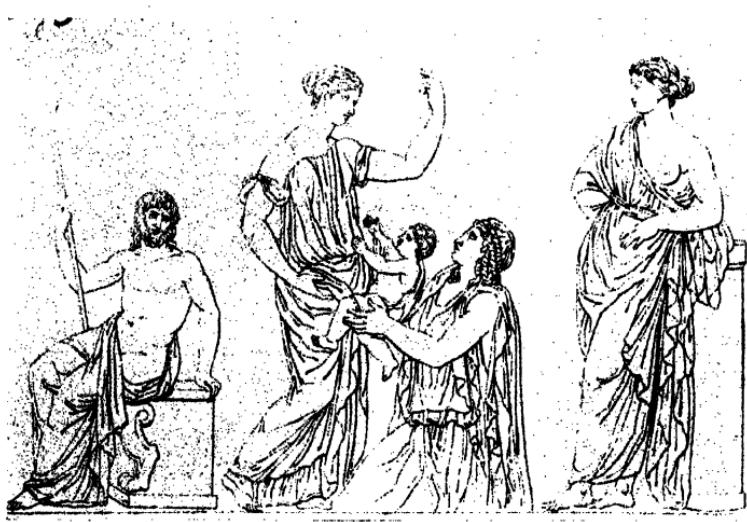


FIG. 3.





FIG. 4.



*Ann. d. hist. philos.*

*Ann. d'antq. I*

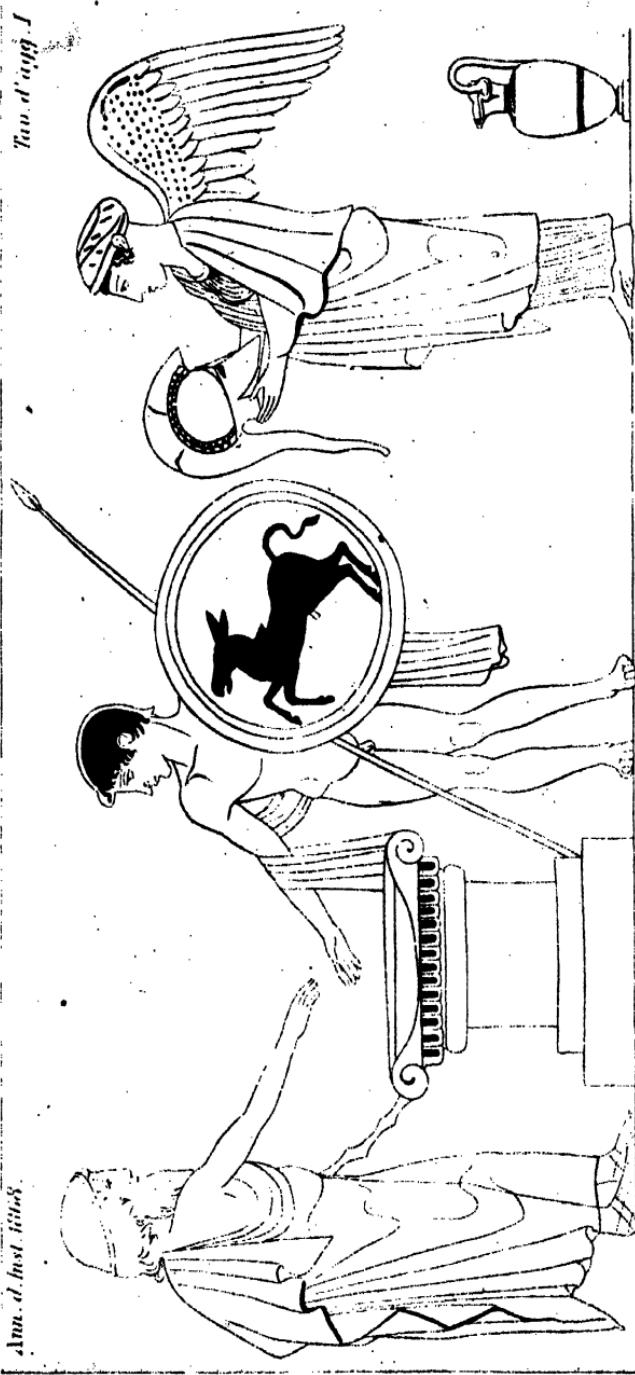


FIG. 5.





FIG. 6.



FIG. 7.





FIG. 8.

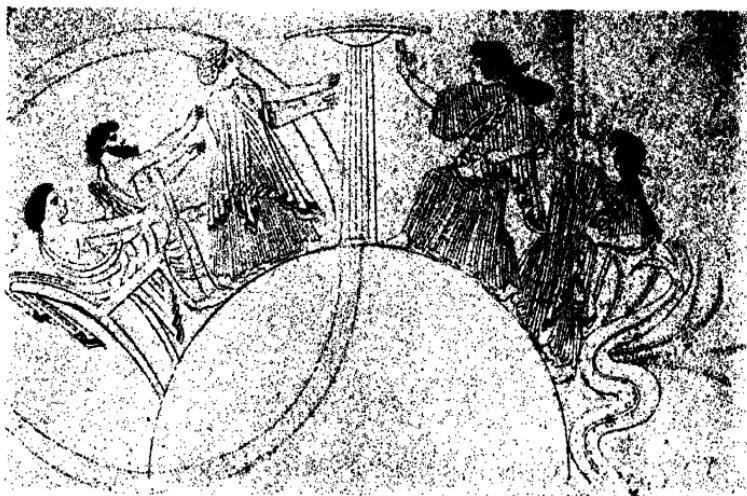


FIG. 9.



FIG. 10.







FIG. 11



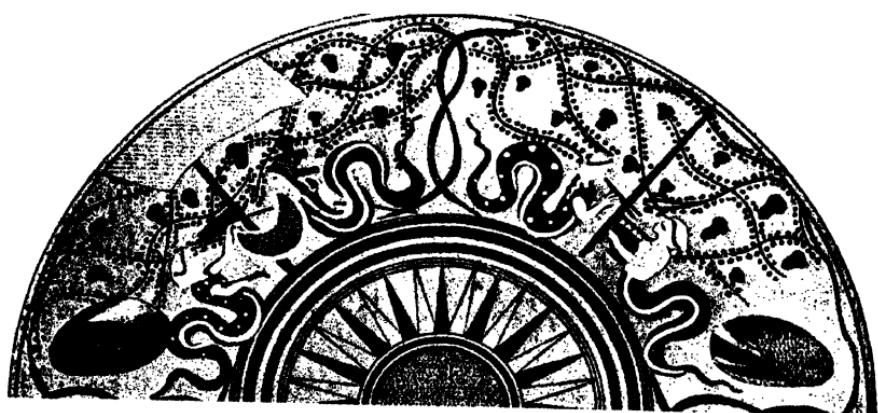


FIG. 12.



# THE Cornell Studies in Classical Philology

EDITED BY

CHARLES EDWIN BENNETT,

JOHN ROBERT SITLINGTON STERRETT,

AND

GEORGE PRENTICE BRISTOL.

- I. The CUM Constructions: their history and functions, by William Garduer Hale. Part i: Critical, 1887. Part ii: Constructive, 1889. (*Out of print.*)
- II. Analogy and the Scope of its Application in Language, by Benjamin Ide Wheeler, 1887. (*Out of print.*)
- III. The Cult of Asklepios, by Alice Walton, 1894. (*Price 80 cts.*)
- IV. The Development of the Athenian Constitution, by George Willis Botsford, 1893. (*Price \$1.50.*)
- V. Index Antiphonteus: compositus Frank Lovis van Cleef, 1895. (*Price \$1.00.*)
- VI. Studies in Latin Moods and Tenses, by Herbert Charles Elmer, 1898. (*Price \$1.50.*)
- VII. The Athenian Secretaries, by William Scott Ferguson, 1898. (*Price 50 cts.*)
- VIII. The Five Post-Kleisthenian Tribes, by Fred Orlando Bates, 1898. (*Price 50 cts.*)
- IX. Critique of some Recent Subjunctive Theories, by Charles Edwin Bennett, 1898. (*Price 50 cts.*)
- X. The Athenian Archons of the Third and Second Centuries Before Christ, by William Scott Ferguson, 1899. (*Price 75 cts.*)
- XI. Index in Xenophontis Memorabilia, Confererunt Catherina Maria Gloth, Maria Francisca Kellogg, 1900. (*Price \$1.00.*)
- XII. A Study of the Greek Paean, with Appendixes containing the Hymns found at Delphi and the other extant Fragments of Paean, by Arthur Fairbanks. 1900. (*Price \$1.00.*)
- XIII. The Subjunctive Substantive Clauses in Plautus, not including Indirect Questions, by Charles L. Durham, 1901. (*Price 80 cts.*)
- XIV. A Study in Case Rivalry, being an Investigation Regarding the Use of the Genitive and Accusative in Latin with Verbs of *Remembering* and *Forgetting*, by Clinton L. Babcock, 1901. (*Price 60 cts.*)
- XV. The Case-Construction after the Comparative in Latin, by K. P. R. Neville, 1901. (*Price 60 cts.*)
- XVI. The Epigraphical Evidence for the Reigns of Vespasian and Titus, by Homer Curtis Newton, 1901. (*Price 80 cts.*)
- XVII. Erichthonius and the three Daughters of Cecrops, by Benjamin Powell. (*Price 60 cts.*)

PUBLISHED FOR THE UNIVERSITY BY

**The Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Ave., New York.**











## The Asiatic Society Library

Author.....  
Title. *Cornell Studies*..... No. 17.....  
Accession No. 37731.....  
Call No. 480 C. 814.....

Date of Issue	Issued to	Date of

Library of the  
ASIATIC SOCIETY  
1 Park Street, Calcutta-16  
Call No. 480 C. 814.....  
Accession No. 37731.....